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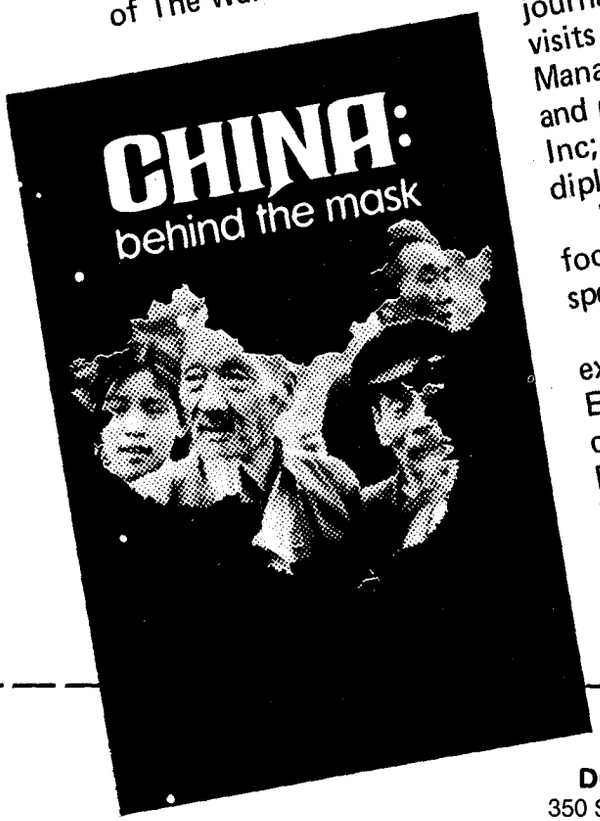

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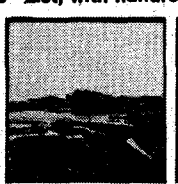

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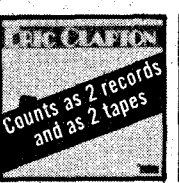

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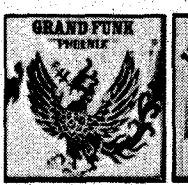

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from Washington
June 23, 1973

The Missing Bugaboo

It was just a year ago that the Supreme Court unanimously rejected the administration's plea for warrantless wiretapping. By a coincidence, Leonid Brezhnev is here now, visiting the harassed and beleaguered President. The dissimilar events are connected in illustrating Mr. Nixon's curious predicament.

The President desperately needs a bogey. He needs something to scare people with. Maybe then they would unite behind him. All his political career he used the Red Peril, in contests for House, Senate, governor and, now and then, for President. It served pretty well. But then, like the improvident farmer who ate his seed corn, he visited Peking and Moscow and used the bogey up; today, instead of a scare object, Mr. Brezhnev's presence is a symbol of successful diplomacy. Fine, so far as this column is concerned, but awkward in leaving Mr. Nixon ogre-less, just when he needs one most to scare former followers back into line.

Maybe the dollar is the victim of a sinister foreign conspiracy—but somehow that doesn't raise the goose flesh. Mr. Nixon did invent a fairly plausible hate target in the 1970 and 1972 elections: he urged followers to vent their venom against antiwar youngsters, restless blacks, the social reformers and the elitist press that egged them all on. It wasn't top vintage but, lacking a snarling foreigner to get mad at Mr. Nixon did as well as he could with national security — *domestic* national security since trips to China and Russia showed the old foreign menace was oversold. National security legitimitized anything: sabotage, wiretapping, burglarizing.

But here the Supreme Court stepped in. Two days after the Watergate break-in the Court, June 19, 1972, utterly rejected the thesis of the former attorney general, John Mitchell, that the "inherent power" of the President permitted him, without court or congressional authority, to order private citizens' phones bugged in domestic security cases. "Inherent power" flowed from the monarch, under this thesis.

Listen to Justice Douglas' concurrent opinion: "We are currently in the throes of another national seizure of paranoia, resembling the hysteria which surrounded the Alien and Sedition Acts, the Palmer Raids, and the McCarthy era." He said that "Those who register dissent or who petition their governments for redress are subjected to scrutiny by grand juries, by the FBI or even by the military." He denounced "the omnipresent electronic ear of the Government."

Whom could he have meant? Well, read Mr. Nixon's justification last May 22 for setting up a gestapo-style intelligence complex; a complex supplemented by his own White House "special intelligence unit" (the plumbers) that finally slopped over into Watergate.

"In the spring and summer of 1970," Mr. Nixon told the nation, "another security problem reached critical proportions. In March a wave of bombings and explosions struck campuses and cities . . . rioting and violence on college campuses reached a new peak after the Cambodian operation . . . Some of the disruptive activities were receiving foreign support."

Here, then, was The Menace. And note the line, "foreign support." We have listened to the Watergate burglars testifying before the Ervin committee and, again and again, they tell of rifling papers in private homes trying to find evidence of foreign support. They never found it. So far as we know, Mr. Nixon can't corroborate his flat statement. (Is it conceivable that, in his present plight, if he had evidence of "foreign support" he wouldn't display it?)

Meanwhile, in the grip of what Justice Douglas called "paranoia," Mr. Nixon approved the half-crazy plans of his young staff assistant Tom Charles Huston, recruited like Howard Phillips (who is currently demolishing OEO) from the right-wing crazies, the Young Americans for Freedom. Huston's secret memos have been preserved and published. He advocated among other things "surreptitious entry" which, he carefully noted, "is clearly illegal: it amounts to burglary." President Nixon, sworn to uphold the law, agreed to break the law, though the program was checked by J. Edgar Hoover, whereupon the White House set up its own private-eye group.

"If the government becomes a lawbreaker," wrote Justice Brandeis in his dissent in a 1928 wiretap decision, "it breeds contempt for the law. It invites every man to become a law unto himself; it invites anarchy."

Every now and then it helps to square these extraordinary excesses with some sane comment as, for example, the quiet Supreme Court decision, June 19, last year. Mitchell pleaded for unrestricted wiretapping to preserve law and order. (He is now under indictment.) Solicitor General Griswold thought the case too weak to argue, which probably cost him his job. But others came forward. Ferociously anti-left Robert Mardian, whose name figures in Watergate hearings blandly told the court that "the privacy of American citizens" is better protected by giving wiretap authorization to Mr Mitchell "than to judges across the nation."

Former Assistant Attorney General William Rehnquist told a Senate committee headed by protesting Sam Ervin "I think it quite likely that self-discipline on the part of the executive branch will provide an answer to all legitimate complaints."

Well Rehnquist for his loyalty got elevated to the Supreme Court. He abstained from voting in the wiretap case and saw every one of his eight new colleagues (including three Nixon appointees) repudiate his wiretap view, 8-0.

One wonders what Brezhnev thinks of it all. Why are Americans so upset by secret police, by wiretapping? He keeps mum because he needs US trade and industrial equipment. Mr. Nixon parades him as a symbol of diplomatic prestige, but there must be moments when he yearns for his old Red Bogey.

The President hasn't had a press conference since March 14. How can he have one? How can he answer those questions on Watergate? The polls say a majority thinks he knew about the cover-up, and certainly the evidence is lapping close to his feet. Perhaps Mr Nixon might read to Leonid the comment of Justice Powell, one year ago "The price of lawful public dissent must not be a dread of subjection to an unchecked surveillance power."

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In Again, Out Again

The experts say we are suffering from an "overheated economy." This is to say, we are inflating madly; prices are rising and wages are going up too (but not as fast), and everyone is infected with a warm-weather virus that makes us spend a lot and demand more. Mr. Nixon wants to stop this before it gets out of hand and sends us careening into another great depression. He went on television the night of June 13 to warn about the bad state of the economy and announce his intention to launch a new policy which, though it sounds like a step back from Phase III toward Phase II, must be called Phase IV because the government does not retreat. But before any of this gets underway, we must have a freeze: beginning on June 13 and for 60 days afterward, all retail prices will be frozen where they were during the first week of June. Wages will not be affected, nor will rents.

Mr. Nixon approached his subject by a circuitous route, first telling us we've never had it so good and we're the envy of the world. "But there is one great problem," he said at last: "prices are going up at unacceptably high rates." He did not go into the details of this one great problem, perhaps because he did not wish to alarm us. If he had quoted statistics, he might have noted that the annual consumer price index based on price changes in the last three months is now at 9.2 percent—an extraordinary figure for a peacetime economy. The wholesale index, which is used to predict future increases, has risen to a fantastic annual rate of 23.4 percent. The industrial index is up to 15.9 percent, and the farm index, the worst of all, is up to 39.4 percent. It is generally agreed that this is the worst spate of inflation the country has experienced since World War II.

If the President had gone into figures like these, his bold new economic policy might not have appeared so bold, in fact, might have seemed like a desperate attempt to delay disaster. Some congressmen doubted that the President would go as far as he did, because it looks so much like a return to the beginning of the old control cycle. We have in effect come back to the stringencies of Phase I, though the President is insisting again that "We are not going to put the American economy in a straight jacket," but we will "return as quickly as possible to the free market system." We have gone from control to decontrol, to control, stumbled through an election and returned almost two years later to the place where we began with little to show

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for the journey but high wages, higher prices and the same level of unemployment. This is the unique quality of Nixonomics: serious inflation, large corporate profits and high unemployment all at the same time.

To many people this suggests that the President's approach, despite the elaborate phasing in and out of controls, isn't working. At a briefing before the speech Treasury Secretary George Shultz was asked whether the new action didn't mean that Phase III had been a failure. He answered, "Oh yes. Everyone thinks Phase III has been a flop, but let's not argue about that, let's talk about something else." Pressed to explain why he thought it had flopped, Shultz said that he felt it was a case in which "demand created a supply, so to speak. Everyone was expecting us to impose new controls and so we were forced to fill the vacuum." Prices rose in anticipation of the freeze, and there was no sign that they would stop rising, Shultz argued, so there was no choice but to do what was expected.

The freeze will work only as a temporary measure: both the President and his critics agree on that. Shultz said the freeze will administer the sort of "shock treatment" the economy needs in order to begin behaving properly. When the 60 days are up, the President will impose "a more effective system of controls"—Phase IV—which will be something like Phase III, only "tougher." The administration has not decided precisely what this means. Shultz said there will be consultations with labor and industry, and that Phase IV will treat wages and prices evenhandedly.

Besides the freeze itself the only substantial news in the President's speech was his declared intention, notwithstanding his rhetorical attack on controls, to ask Congress for authority 1) to control (reduce) tariffs on scarce items such as plywood and zinc, and to suspend tariffs on meat, 2) to allow the government to dispose of more stockpiled goods, 3) to rush construction of the Alaska pipeline and 4) to control (limit) exports of goods in high demand, specifically wheat, rice, barley, corn and soybeans. The last of these is the most important, for rising farm prices have contributed most to the general inflation and the shortage of grain has contributed most to farm costs. Shultz was asked whether this didn't mean the Russian wheat deal had been a mistake. He said no. He explained that the administration had intended to open a new market for American grains, and that eventually our farmers would be able to supply both domestic and foreign demand. Besides making agriculture more profitable, this would reduce tension between the US and Russia. That is the game plan. Meanwhile Mr. Nixon assured us that "we must put the American consumer first . . . we will not let foreign sales price meat and eggs off the American table." He threw the predictable jab at Congress, promising to veto any "budget-busters" or inflationary farm subsidy bills that come his way. And he concluded that we can achieve "full prosperity without war and without inflation." But how?

Honorable Men, All

The Ervin Select Senate Committee failed last wee in its first test against an experienced, well-prepare and carefully counseled witness. The senators trie several times to pry some information from Mauric Stans on why such large amounts of cash were kep at campaign headquarters. The finance chairman c the Nixon reelection committee replied that that wa not his decision; it was the responsibility of hi subordinate, treasurer Hugh Sloan, Jr. But Mr. Sloa had earlier testified that he reported to Stans fror time to time on cash balances, and that Stans suggeste cash be deposited when the amount on hand wa above about $350,000. Stans was not reminded of tha

All he knew about the Watergate affair, said Stans came from reading the newspapers, not from conversa tions with his committee colleagues. Senator Howar Baker, whose performance generally has been com mendable, started Stans through a detailed resum of his activities immediately following the June 1 Watergate arrests. But when Baker got to June 23- a key day in the cover-up—Stans and important fact slipped away. At 9:00 am on the 23rd, Fred LaRue, a assistant to campaign chairman John Mitchell, ha told Stans that a $25,000 campaign fund check, signe by Stans' friend Kenneth Dahlberg, had gone throug the bank account of one of the men arrested. Stans wa never asked if he knew where LaRue got that informa tion. Shortly thereafter Sloan gave Stans a fin summary of cash distributions, including $199,00 paid to G. Gordon Liddy, later convicted as a Wate gate conspirator. Stans was never asked whether h read that report. Stans said that when he met wit John Mitchell on June 24 he did not mention th amount given to Liddy because he did not know it- did not know it though he had received Sloan's repo on cash disbursements one day earlier. And on tha same day—June 23—Stans met with both Dahlber and with Liddy. The senators asked no questior about what was discussed at those meetings.

The finance chairman supplied Herbert Kalmbacl the President's personal lawyer, with $75,000 in cas on June 29 for a White House project "not connecte with the campaign." What *was* it connected with? N idea. Of the $75,000, $45,000 came from Stans' saf money left over from $50,000 in cash Kalmbach ha given Stans in February to cover expenses, since Star was serving without pay. No one asked Stans wher *that* money came from or why he needed cash to cove his personal expenses. The other $30,000 was cas received from Philippine nationals who wanted t contribute to Nixon's reelection. There was a questio in Stans' mind, however, of whether such mone could be properly accepted. Nevertheless he had n qualms about turning it over to Kalmbach for a Whit House project. Finally, asked if he was not hesitar to hand over that much cash, no questions asked, t

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Kalmbach—12 days after Watergate—Stans waived the incident aside: these were honorable men all, except for Gordon Liddy, and he was fired for refusing to talk to the FBI. Mr. Stans was co-chairman of the reelection budget committee, but he wasn't going to be nosy enough to inquire whether any of the over $50 million he raised was being spent for illegal activities.

When Senator Ervin pressed Stans on the reasons for destruction of Sloan's final report on cash disbursements, Stans easily swore that there was no connection between that and the Watergate break-in of little more than a week before. Senator Ervin, failing to remind the witness that the Sloan report was the only documentary evidence of payments to Liddy, bore down on the morality of the act, and Stans smiled.

On the following day, the committee did a far better job in quizzing Jeb Magruder; its task was easier. Magruder told what he knew and admitted guilt.

Back to Brannan

Congress is turning to the concept of direct payments to farmers which was at the heart of a plan pushed by Secretary of Agriculture Charles F. Brannan in the "Fair Deal" days, a quarter of a century ago. The Senate has already passed the Agriculture and Consumer Protection Act of 1973 with this provision in it and the House is expected to act favorably by mid-summer. Brannan maintained his plan would give the consumer a break, either at the marketplace or on the day the tax collector comes around; whereas the accepted alternative of "parity" often costs them at every turn. Now Congress appears ready to buy that argument, although the administration isn't.

Under the present "parity" program for agriculture, the government makes price support loans to producers, using as a yardstick the cost and price relationship for farmers in the 1910-14 period. In practice it means farmers take out loans and withhold their commodities from the market in times of low prices. This tends to artificially boost prices at the marketplace and, if crops are too bountiful, results in huge and costly surpluses.

The new concept of direct payments differs from "parity" in two important respects. A target or guaranteed price will be set each year, using a cost-of-production index kept by the Department of Agriculture in place of the parity yardstick (1910-14 cost-price relationship). Farmers will be paid, directly, the difference between the average market price for the first five months of the year and the target prices. Meanwhile the commodities covered (wheat, corn, cotton plus wool) will be allowed to seek their own market price. If crops are plentiful, market prices will be low, a boon to the consumer, although the program may be costly. If supplies are short, prices will be high and the program should not cost the taxpayers anything.

The bill was amended on the floor of the Senate to give consumers and the poor a couple of breaks. A Kennedy-Case amendment calling for a cost-of-food index for the food stamp program was adopted, and a Weicker-Bayh amendment repealed the "bread tax" that critics claim cost consumers 1½ to 2 cents per loaf of bread by requiring millers to pay the federal government 75 cents for every bushel of bread they use, a payment passed on to the consumer.

Some elements of the old program will be kept. There will still be a set-aside (soil-bank) program and it will be exempt from the $20,000 limitation placed on the amount of payments an individual farmer can get under the Bayh amendment. That limitation passed the Senate 45-37, in hopes of enticing farmers with land that sells for $1500 per acre to set some aside should big surpluses ever pile up again. A low rate loan program was also kept to give some protection to smaller farmers desperate for cash at harvest time. Without it they might be forced to sell their crop to grain dealers at prices below the average, thus losing some badly needed cash while the dealers sit on what they've bought until prices rise a bit.

The new bill has almost unanimous support of farm groups that have traditionally differed on agricultural legislation. The only holdout is the American Farm Bureau Federation (AFBF), and AFBF isn't doing much because the new program is popular with a lot of its members. The major question that remains is whether supporters can override a White House veto if it comes.

Public Employment

The Public Employment Program (PEP), the first major effort of its kind since the New Deal, has in the past two years provided almost 200,000 jobs. The $2.25 billion expended has paid policemen, firemen, clerks, recreational aides, teacher aides and hospital orderlies. PEP more or less satisfies the American work ethic—people are getting paid to work—unlike welfare, where they are paid when they don't work. Proponents would like to see funding raised to create 500,000 jobs—not 500,000 a year, but 500,000 on a more or less permanent basis. The Nixon administration wants PEP ended, but the chances are good Congress will vote to renew it, thus setting the stage for another Nixon veto and attempts to override. The President vetoed the first PEP bill with a criticism of "WPA type jobs" and signed a second and more moderate bill only after funding was drastically trimmed and the program limited to two years, ending on the 30th

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of this month.

PEP merits continuance, but with some refinements. The two-year investment reduced the joblessness rate only two-tenths of one percent, and as administered by mayors and governors put to work a disproportionate number of fairly skilled whites and too few unskilled blacks and other minorities. One Labor Department study showed 64 percent of PEP workers to be white, 21 percent black; only 11 percent had been on welfare. It ought to expand or contract in response to the national unemployment rate; the higher the rate, the greater PEP funding and job creation. At a six percent jobless rate (which might again face us if the economy declines to levels some now forecast) PEP would hire about 325,000 workers if its target were to employ one-fourth of the unemployed in excess of 4.5 percent. At the current five percent unemployment rate, PEP would embrace 108,000 jobs. There should also be a requirement that many more PEP workers come from the ranks of women, blacks and teenagers, whose rate of unemployment consistently runs higher than the national average.

The Space Shuttle

An apple falling on the head of Sir Isaac Newton apparently led to the popular saying: "What goes up must come down." The Soviet Union "broke" that law with Sputnik, and when the United States later followed, Khrushchev characterized our satellite as an "orange." The National Aeronautics and Space Administration has come a long way since the days of apple- and orange-sized payloads and can now put into orbit such massive packages as the 100 ton Skylab. Newton's law could thus be amended to read: "Not all of what goes up must come down."

NASA's budget for fiscal year 1973 is $3.1 billion; seven years ago it was twice that. Next year's budget, if approved by Congress, will also be $3.1 billion. NASA believes it has found a way to save the taxpayers' money by reusing some of its rockets and payloads. To achieve this, however, will require about $8 billion for the Space Shuttle. Last July NASA awarded Rockwell International (formerly North American Rockwell) a $2.6 billion contract to develop this manned vehicle that can be launched into orbit, land safely on earth and subsequently be launched again.

The Space Shuttle will be unlike any previous space vehicle. The 125 foot orbiter will resemble a delta-wing aircraft and carry a crew of four. The cargo compartment will be about 60 feet long, 15 feet in diameter and be capable of putting a 65,000 pound payload into a 100 mile orbit; smaller payloads could be put into higher orbits. Instead of sitting on top of the rocket—as does an Apollo capsule for example—the orbiter will be attached to the side of its 194-foot-long liquid-fueled booster and two smaller solid propellant engines. On a typical mission the orbiter might launch one satellite and then capture another already in orbit that had stopped transmitting. If the crew cannot repair it in space, they will put the satellite in the cargo compartment and return it to earth for repairs. On a later mission they might return a repaired or modified satellite to orbit. The Space Shuttle concept is revolutionary, and NASA believes it would be more economical in the "long run" than our present practice of using "expendable" rockets and payloads.

NASA's concept of the "long run," however, has created a controversy. Last year NASA estimated its space program for 1979 to 1990 would require 581 flights. Using the Space Shuttle and recycled payloads, the program cost was put at $43.1 billion. If, on the other hand, expendables were used, the cost would be $48.3 billion. This year NASA increased its program to 779 flights for a period one year longer: 1979 to 1991. With the Space Shuttle, this program would cost $50.2 billion; without it, $66.2 billion. Thus by adding 198 more flights to its own program, NASA has miraculously increased the taxpayers' "savings" from $5.2 billion to $16 billion.

Senator Walter F. Mondale (D, Minn.) has long had doubts about NASA's arithmetic on the Space Shuttle. "NASA's justification for the Shuttle assumes a space program on the order of 50 to 60 flights a year between 1979 and 1990. Yet there were only 33 launches for all purposes in 1972." In other words NASA has assumed Congress will authorize an accelerated space program a decade from now. If fewer flights are authorized, a recent analysis of the General Accounting Office pointed out, "the economic justification of the Shuttle would deteriorate because the $8 billion of development and procurement costs would be amortized over fewer missions and because fewer launches would increase the cost per launch." Congress has had no opportunity to "review these missions in detail" and could well refuse to fund a 779 flight NASA space program. (Two years ago NASA apparently determined it would have 440 flights; last year it was increased to 581, it is now 779. Increasing the number of times the shuttle is used naturally decreases the cost per mission in comparison to the cost of launching these payloads with expendable rockets. Thus, NASA calculates, the more we spend, the more we save.)

There are issues other than cost. Manned missions account for relatively few space shots: all satellites, for instance, are put into orbit by unmanned boosters. Just the reverse would obtain with the Space Shuttle: all satellites would be launched by the four-man orbiter crew. Several astronauts have been killed on earth while preparing for missions in space, but none have died in space although Apollo 13 was considered by many to have been a "near miss." Because space is such a hostile environment, prudence dictates we not

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xpose man to its dangers any more than necessary. he Space Shuttle would stand this common sense lictum on its head, and instead of using small unnanned rockets to put satellites in orbit (as NASA ıow does) the agency would risk the lives of astronauts or routine missions.

NASA has made a number of assumptions about the uture of the space program which Congress ought to ook at carefully before going further. Should the lives of astronauts be risked on routine launch missions hat may be adequately performed by unmanned rockets? Considering the competitive claims on tax dollars by the cities, the schools, transportation, health—do ve want to invest the $50.2 billion in the 779 flights NASA has in mind? Until such questions can be exmined in detail, Congress would be wise to withhold he $475 million NASA has asked for fiscal 1974 to ontinue development of the Space Shuttle.

Help for the Arts

One would think that the old debate over the merits of government financing for the arts had been settled or that a judgment now could be rendered—40 years fter the WPA and eight years after the creation of the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities. Has government assistance, puny though it has been elative to other federal spending, had a stultifying ffect on the independence of artists? Has it been vasted on banalities? Is there a czar in Washington mposing his taste and politics on creative expression? he questions are answered variously by antagonists n this year's fight over whether to greatly expand the rograms of the National Endowment for the Arts and he National Endowment for the Humanities—the two rograms that make up the National Foundation. To is there is little doubt that the programs have been a uccess and deserve to be expanded.

The Senate last month voted to authorize $840 million for the two programs over the next three years in ncreasing amount ($160 million next year, $280 million in fiscal 1975 and $400 million in 1976, the Amerian Revolution Bicentennial year). This year each enlowment has $38.2 million. The objective enunciated by Senator Javits, a sponsor of the increased authorization in the Senate, is to put US arts programs on a par vith art subsidies in Europe: he hopes Americans will e willing to spend one dollar per capita by 1976 to oster what, for lack of a better word, is called culture. Critics of the authorization ask why in a time of proram slicing and a $268 billion congressionally sanioned spending ceiling, culture should be this generously underwritten. Led by Senator Proxmire, they ıave been willing to see a 50 percent boost in funding or next year (that is $60 million for each of the endowments), but they want to know why the arts should prosper while OEO is being dismantled and the poor "sacrificed." There is a certain symmetry to the argument: if one leg is to be amputated, why not two?

Senator Pell of Rhode Island, replies that administration cutbacks in social services are no argument for pruning the arts. He would fund the social services too, such things as elementary and secondary education, impacted aid, higher education and education for the handicapped, but he thinks the "federal budget is large enough to include both those programs and the proposed increase for the arts and humanities."

Javits has provided lots of data on how short the available money is and how the federal contribution stimulates state and private patronage of the arts. New York's Lincoln Center, which Javits calls "probably the principal performing arts center in the country," will lose as much as $18 million this year on costs of $55 million. Federal assistance to Lincoln Center provides only "two-tenths of one percent" of Lincoln Center's financing, some $15.5 million coming from private sources. Nationally, federal seed money is matched three to one by other financing.

Senator Proxmire, denouncing "elitism" in the arts, has charged (without evidence) that government money subsidizes programs for the rich who can afford to pay the bills themselves. As an example he cites the subsidized advanced placement program in the secondary schools, for students specializing in the arts. That program, in fact, operates in 6000 schools, most of them public, all over the country. There's no preference for Exeter or Andover. Beneficiaries are bright, young people whose artistic talents might otherwise have a poorer chance to flower. About $1.4 million is being spent this year to place artists and poets in the schools. The poets go in by the day, working with children from second and third grade up. They aren't there to encourage poetry reading but poetry writing. The poet is paid well enough so that by working part time he can earn enough to support himself as a poet. A black poet assigned to a Harlem school can do wonders for a child by showing a genuine interest in what he is doing and encouraging him to express himself on paper. Federal aid to education runs to $14 or $15 billion. Proponents of the arts programs in the schools believe that $1.4 million spent on the artists and poets has a leavening effect on the more massive HEW expenditures that would otherwise be missing.

Senator Proxmire doesn't want bureaucrats deciding what is worthwhile in the arts and therefore what should be supported. The best refutation of that is in the subsidized programs themselves, which range widely and fairly across the spectrum of the artistic life of the nation from the Hopi reservations of Arizona (where silver craftsmen are assisted) to a little theater in Wichita Falls, Texas. The National Foundation provides about six percent of the operating revenue of the 100 leading symphonies, one percent of the operating

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budget of museums. There are programs that would take pages to list benefiting blacks, Chicanos and other disadvantaged people.

The dollar figures in the Senate authorization are still subject to change. The House last week was expected to approve $72.5 million for each of the endowments for next year only, leaving for later any decision about further increases in spending. The House figure has the support of the administration. The fight over the authorization was crucial to winning support from the House and Senate Appropriations Committees later in the summer. Their wont is to cut back somewhat from authorization levels. Inflation affects the arts as it does other parts of the economy. For Congress ultimately to appropriate less than $72.5 million for each of the endowments would mean essentially that programs that ought to be expanded will have to hold at current levels, or less.

The Nixon Watch

Toughing It Out

On Sunday evening, June 10, at Homestead Air Force Base near Miami, Mr. Nixon was seen to do something that I hadn't seen him do in five years of watching him get on and off airplanes. He usually trots up the steep ramps, without pause. This time he put his left hand on the rail of the ramp leading from the tarmac to the door of Air Force One and pulled himself up, pausing for a split second after every two or three steps. Mrs. Nixon walked beside him, pacing her climb with his. At the top of the ramp, the President turned and waved with his customary show of vigor. Then he and his wife vanished and their plane took off for Washington, routinely ending another of the President's frequent weekends of mingled rest and work at his home on Key Biscayne.

On the way from Washington to Key Biscayne, on the preceding Friday, the President made a speech. It was his first appearance at a fully open and public gathering since he was reelected last November. His evident purpose was to demonstrate that the Watergate scandals and repercussions didn't scare him and that he'd meant it when he said on May 22: "I will not abandon my responsibilities. I will continue to do the job I was elected to do." His audience of graduates, students, parents and miscellaneous citizens on the campus of Florida Technological University, a regional institution that opened in 1968 and was having its fourth commencement ceremony, expected Mr. Nixon to talk about Watergate. Florida Tech is a conservative school in a conservative area. Reporters in the President's press party were told that he'd have got a thunderous ovation if he'd chosen to say that he'd done no wrong and to hell with anybody who said he had. He chose instead to dump a bag of Nixon clichés dating back to and before his 1968 campaign, along with references to peaceful accommodation with Communist China and the Soviet Union and a strong suggestion that people bring inflation on themselves by "living better" and increasing their demands for meat, grain, coal, gasoline, fuel oil, electricity and air conditioners. He was applauded 14 times in 28 minutes, with audibly diminishing enthusiasm. His single and oblique reference to Watergate, with never a mention of the word, occurred in a passage that is quoted at length because it's vintage Nixon, syntax and all, and because it's manifestly what the President thought it useful and appropriate to say at this time or this occasion. After remarking that commencement speakers usually go to extremes of pessimism or optimism, Mr. Nixon said:

"I am going to try to avoid both extremes and be quite candid with you today about your opportunities and also the problems. But in view of the fact that there is somewhat of a tendency to have our television sets inundated with what is wrong with America which, of course, is their responsibility where they feel that, I think perhaps it would be well to start with this proposition: about what is perhaps right about this country, and I would say we have grave problems at home and abroad, and we are capable of solving them. But I want you to know that I have visited most of the countries of the world. I have seen most of the systems of government of the world, and I have lived through four wars that America has been engaged in in this century. I can say very honestly to every member of this graduating class: If I were to pick a time in the whole history of the world in which to live, if I were to pick a country in which I would like to live in all this world, there is no country I would rather live in and there is no time I would rather be graduating from college than 1973, the United States of America.'

After repeating at the end that "in the whole history of the world, in all the nations of the world, there has never been a time when I would rather be a graduate than in the year 1973 in the United States of America,' the President walked from the platform to the area below it where the graduates were seated. Reporters who trailed him noticed an odd reaction when some of the graduates shouted "we believe in you" and "we're behind you." These and similar cries of encouragement could be interpreted only as reminders of Watergate and they seemed to bother and irritate Mr. Nixon. Although he muttered "thank you" once or twice, he looked as if he were anything but grateful and wanted to get away from the people whom he had sought out. At the air force base where his plane awaited him, he approached a small crowd of onlookers and shook a few hands and said "thank you' when somebody shouted, "you're still on top." He had that same look of distaste and irritation when he

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old the crowd, "I've got to catch the helicopter" and strode toward Air Force One, which is not a helicopter.

Mr. Nixon returned from Florida to a White House establishment that he is changing in many respects but can't change in one important respect so long as he "toughs it out" (as Senator John Stennis of Mississippi correctly predicted he would do not long ago). He's the same President now that he was between January 20, 1969 and April 30, 1973, when he sadly demanded the resignations of H. R. Haldeman, his administrative staff chief, and John D. Ehrlichman, his assistant for domestic affairs, because of their deep entanglements in the multiple Watergate rascalities. The tight, secretive and centralized system of White House command that they created for him and, at his behest, brought to a peak of perverted perfection in the months between his reelection and the bursting of the Watergate bomb in late March was the sort of system that suited him, that he wanted, and that he conceived and developed through them. Whatever changes he is compelled to make, and however extensive their outward effect may be, it should never be forgotten that the system he is professing to discard was the kind that he thought he needed if he was to conduct his presidency in his chosen way. The changes in staff personnel and organization that he is making, in the hope that they will help him escape resignation or impeachment, can be really effective only if Mr. Nixon changes, and that seems to me to be extremely doubtful.

The reporters and cameramen who witnessed the first display of the staff changes on June 6 will never forget it. One of the reporters who tried to convey the weird effect in words gave up and said afterward, "You can't describe it; you have to have been there and seen it." Here, in little hope that the effect of seeing it will be conveyed, is what happened. Mr. Nixon appeared on the West Wing porch outside his Oval Office with former Congressman and Defense Secretary Melvin Laird and General Alexander M. Haig, Jr., at his right and left. They paused for pictures on the steps that lead down into the Rose Garden, then walked the grassy length of the garden and wheeled to face the cameras again. They murmured to each other, smiled at each other, and walked back through the garden to the porch and into the Oval Office. On the porch steps, Mr. Nixon reached up and patted General Haig's right shoulder. It was done in total silence. Something about the scene, perhaps nothing more than its staged artificiality, made the watching reporters nervous. One of them said in a shaken tone, "I guess it's to show that Nixon is up and taking nourishment." Another said, "I don't believe it. It didn't happen." Why we felt that way, I don't know and probably never will.

A written announcement awaited us in the press room. It said that General Haig, who had been Henry Kissinger's deputy and had been appointed army vice chief of staff in January, "will retire from active duty in the Army effective August 1." A great fuss had been raised about a career soldier replacing Haldeman in a basically civilian job, handling (as the announcement put it) "coordination and supervision of the day-to-day operations and responsibilities of the

The Palace Guard

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White House staff." Melvin Laird, who had resigned as Defense secretary in January and within the past two weeks had sworn to reporters that he wouldn't return to government, was appointed "Counsellor to the President for Domestic Affairs . . . responsible for overall formulation and coordination of domestic policy." He would have Cabinet rank, which John Ehrlichman hadn't enjoyed, and he would "also sit on the National Security Council," as Ehrlichman never had. Finally Press Secretary Ronald Ziegler would remain in that capacity and in addition would be made an assistant to the President, taking over in that role the responsibility for what the announcement politely termed "White House communications"—actually, outright political propaganda—that was assigned during the first term to Herbert Klein, a long-time Nixon servitor and friend who had just resigned. Former Governor and Treasury Secretary John B. Connally was already aboard as a part-time, unpaid adviser concentrating on economic affairs and anti-inflation measures. Bryce N. Harlow, a Washington lobbyist who has been in and out of the White House since President Eisenhower's time and was a Nixon counsellor in 1969-70, was about to return as a senior assistant without portfolio. Here were signs aplenty of a new Nixon White House, manned at the top by experienced administrators and politicians. Ziegler and General Haig excepted, and in view of his army record Haig is not a total exception, the President would have on his controlling staff men of independent stature, in marked contrast to such assistants as Haldeman and Ehrlichman, whose sole claim to rank and power was that they had served Richard Nixon before he attained the presidency.

The recent flood of speculation about what it al means—and I'm waiting awhile before I ventur judgment—omits a central point. It is that these ar interim changes, mainly intended as of now to se Richard Nixon through his Watergate trouble an safely into what he hopes can be a final three year of achievement and acclaim. Melvin Laird, lookin distraught and somehow embarrassed, said that h will be around for "at least a year" and made n promises beyond that. In staff discussions befor Haig's military retirement was announced, the state purpose was to keep him at the White House for year or so. Retirement "from active duty" is no resignation. The President can recall him to activ duty, still in four-star rank, at any time. General Max well Taylor, who retired in 1959, was recalled to dut by President John Kennedy in 1961 and made chair man of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in 1962. General Hai and Mr. Nixon are familiar with that precedent.

Ronald Ziegler's situation and future are probabl of more interest to the White House press corps tha to the public. But they are worth a note. The consensu of the reporters who regularly cover the White Hous is that Ron Ziegler is a proven deceiver and liar an that Mr. Nixon will have no credibility so long a Ziegler continues to be his chief spokesman. To th extent that this judgment is valid, it's Mr. Nixon wh is the proven deceiver and liar. The President acts a if he knows it and isn't craven enough to blame hi spokesman. He has declared his confidence in Ziegle and demonstrated it by giving him the added statu of a full assistant. Ziegler will be around while M Nixon is and while they are there it can't and won be a believably new White House.

John Osborn

The Cold War Brought Home

by Walter Pincus

During the bleak Cold War days of the 1950s and 1960s, the US government built a several-sided intelligence machine to combat the foreign threat of international communism. To counter alleged Communist subversion, the Central Intelligence Agency ran spy networks, subsidized alien political parties and candidates and played "dirty tricks" in foreign elections. To gather military and diplomatic intelligence, the U developed an amazing international electronic eave dropping capability, coordinated by the highly secr National Security Agency and operated by speciall trained units of the army, navy and air force. To me strategic and tactical military intelligence and psych logical warfare needs in Southeast Asia and elsewher

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the military services expanded their intelligence and counterintelligence operations and in 1961 introduced the Defense Intelligence Agency as a coordinating body. This $6 billion-plus intelligence community was primarily, but not entirely, concerned only with the overseas threat.

By tradition the Federal Bureau of Investigation under J. Edgar Hoover ruled the intelligence roost at home. His agents handled espionage and sabotage along with alleged internal subversion, whether by the American Communist Party, the Ku Klux Klan or the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

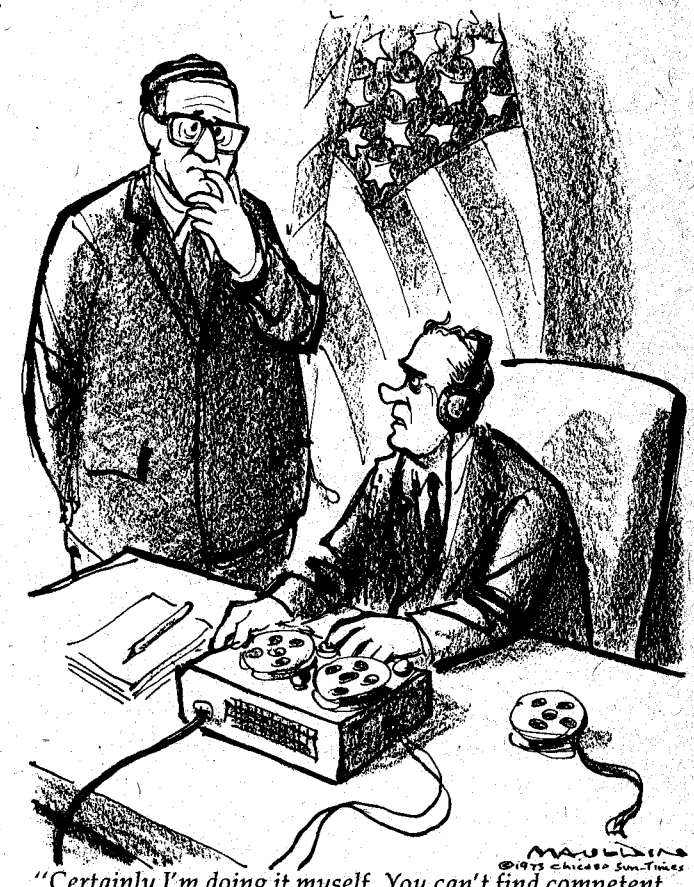
Hoover's domestic dominance was not absolute, however. CIA, though barred by law from functioning within the US, did have domestic activities. One was, of course, recruitment. And documented by the National Student Association infiltration scandals of the mid-'60s, there was some manipulation of US-based organizations as fronts for overseas intelligence work. Likewise CIA either set up or operated through domestic philanthropic foundations, which it used as conduits for CIA money. In the late '60s the military services, and particularly the army, expanded their domestic counterintelligence in response to urban violence. Based on the assumption that army units would be used to contain outbreaks in cities—such as those that followed the death of Martin Luther King—army intelligence undertook an extensive domestic information-gathering operation. A civil disturbance collection plan dated May 2, 1968 called for the army to gather information on "aims and activities of groups attempting to create, prolong or aggravate racial tensions."

Thus by 1970 the stage was set for a Nixon administration proposal to integrate and use at home what had been developed and found useful in clandestine work abroad. *"In the past there has been no systematic effort to mobilize the full resources of the intelligence community in the internal security area . . . Domestic intelligence information coming into the White House has been fragmentary and unevaluated . . . Unlike most of the bureaucracy the intelligence community welcomes direction and leadership from the White House."* These were the thoughts of Tom Charles Huston, a former aide to President Nixon, as revealed in a top secret memorandum he wrote in July 1970 to White House chief of staff H.R. Haldeman. Huston, then a 29-year-old staff assistant, had the assignment of shepherding an interagency task force that was drawing up a new, coordinated organization for domestic intelligence and internal security.

The idea was simple. The government (which is to say, the Executive) had at its disposal an impressive intelligence apparatus—the CIA, the FBI, the NSA (National Security Agency) and the DIA (Defense Intelligence Agency). All of them worked together in dealing with the foreign threat. Why not unify their handling of the domestic threat, one perceived by the Nixon White House to be dangerous to the security of the administration, if not the country?

There were difficulties. CIA's respected director, Richard Helms, had said in a speech to a newspaper convention in April 1970, just three months earlier, "We do not have any such [domestic] powers and functions; we have never sought any; we do not exercise any; in short we do not target American citizens." No such legal inhibitions applied however to NSA or to the military services. NSA was established by presidential order in 1952 as a separate, secret agency inside the Defense Department. Its duties were thought to center on breaking enemy codes. Few stopped to consider how messages from one foreign sender to another came into the possession of NSA, so that codes could be broken. NSA received them, of course, by electronic interception—eavesdropping—through one means or another.

Intelligence work by the military services is not barred in this country. However, public opinion and a jealous protection of its prerogatives by the FBI for the most part kept it limited. In early 1970, for example, when magazine stories reported on army intelligence conducting spy missions against opponents of Nixon policies, including Democratic politicians, congressional outcry was enough to put a damper on such



"Certainly I'm doing it myself. You can't find competent help these days."

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undertakings.

In June of 1970 the Nixon administration was reeling from protests against the US invasion of Cambodia. Though the demonstrations for the most part were peaceful, the administration—as noted in the President's May 22, 1973 speech—thought domestic "security problems [had] reached critical proportions." On June 5, 1970 an interagency committee was convened by the White House. It included, Huston later wrote, "the top domestic intelligence officials of the FBI, CIA, DIA, NSA and each of the military services." Regular meetings through June produced a series of top secret recommendations for increased coordination and gathering of domestic intelligence.

When the White House plan was first made known to the public this month, the most discussed feature was the reestablishment of FBI surreptitious entries (burglaries). But the first recommendation concerned NSA. Huston's report outlined the possibilities: "The FBI does not have the capability to monitor international communications. NSA is currently doing so on a restricted basis, and the information is particularly useful to the White House and it would be to our disadvantage to allow the FBI to determine what NSA should do in this area without regard to our requirements."

I have a personal interest in that statement for at the time, June-July 1970, I was chief consultant to the Symington subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, investigating US security agreements and foreign commitments. One focus of our inquiry was NSA and most particularly its overseas facilities which were used to gather electronic intelligence. In some countries a US military presence was based in large part on the high priority given the local NSA listening post. In other countries, where the initial military value of a base had declined, NSA had come along and installed a facility—or there were plans to expand the installation that existed. Thus the intelligence value of NSA was being used to justify continuance of the military presence.

The Symington subcommittee decided to closely examine these facilities and what their intelligence "take" (or usable information) was. Along with the subcommittee counsel, I visited dozens of NSA overseas facilities in more than 10 countries. The military services ran most of them. CIA had a couple. By the time we'd completed our third overseas trip, it was clear to the subcommittee that the value of the NSA effort, with its military support, was vastly exaggerated. Material was being overheard, noted and copied far in excess of apparent need.

Closed subcommittee hearings on a country-by-country basis included many sessions with Admiral Noel Gayler, then the head of NSA. At the first session the admiral emphasized NSA's special secrecy regulations. He spoke of the agency's tremendous capabilities to gather communications and its sophisticated methods of breaking foreign codes through use of computers. But with each appearance by Gayler, subcommittee members became increasingly critical. Cost and overlapping was only one of their concerns. Another dealt with the probability that NSA's sweeping collection of international transmissions included private messages sent by or to American citizens—a form of wiretapping that would not be permitted within the continental United States without court order. NSA's director Gaylor tended to brush aside that anxiety.

The 1970 domestic intelligence plan, drawn up at the White House, specifically called for a broadening of NSA intercepts "of the communications of US citizens using international facilities." This was to be accomplished by making a more liberal interpretation of "restraints on communications intelligence" contained in a National Security Council Intelligence Directive Number 6. That directive, and not federal statute, appears to be the only restraint on NSA eavesdropping on US citizens.

NSA also was cited in the White House plan as the advocate of allowing more surreptitious entries. Huston wrote: "Present restrictions should be modified to permit procurement of vitally needed foreign cryptographic material . . . Use of this technique is clearly illegal; it amounts to burglary . . . NSA has a particular interest since it is possible by this technique to secure material with which NSA can break foreign cryptographic codes. We spend millions of dollars attempting to break these codes by machine. One successful surreptitious entry can do the job successfully at no dollar cost."

Along with NSA, CIA was a willing participant in planning new domestic intelligence efforts. "I went into this exercise," wrote Huston, "fearful that CIA would refuse to cooperate. In fact Dick Helms was most cooperative and helpful . . ." The agency was to expand surveillance of Americans abroad. "CIA claims there are not existing restraints on its coverage of overseas activities of U.S. nationals." Huston reported. "However, this coverage has been grossly inadequate since 1965 [when CIA support of front groups was exposed] and an explicit directive to increase coverage is required . . . CIA coverage of American students and others traveling or living abroad is to be increased."

A larger role for the military services, particularly through the use of domestic undercover agents, was turned down by the White House committee. Traditionally the intelligence professionals at CIA and the FBI had looked down on the military's utility in their area, because military agents for the most part were short-time enlisted men, and such operatives increased likelihood of exposure. Thus the Huston group recommended that although the military participate in the proposed Interagency Group on Domestic Intelligence and Internal Security, "the risks of lifting . .

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estraints [on military undercover activities] are greater han the value of any possible intelligence which would e acquired from doing so."

The greatest expansion of domestic surveillance was o be given the FBI: legal and illegal mail coverage the interception, opening and copying, then replacenent of mailed letters); surreptitious entry; recruitment f more campus spies and increased use of wiretaps nd electronic bugs against "individuals and groups n the United States who pose a major threat to the nternal security."

The Huston plan was put into operation on July 5, 1970, but rescinded on July 28, 1970 reportedly fter objections were raised by FBI Director Hoover. The true story of what happened has not yet come out. Although Huston's detailed plan lost out, the substance f it did not.

FBI internal memoranda, seized during a citizens' aid (surreptitious entry) on the Media, Pennsylvania ureau office in April 1971, showed that in late 1970 BI coverage of student groups was considerably xpanded. FBI wiretaps of student and black militants, newsmen and even National Security Council employees were stepped up. Almost a dozen unexplained burglaries have been reported in recent months, all against targets described in the Huston memo.

Is NSA eavesdropping on more Americans abroad, and is CIA keeping surveillances on more US citizens outside this country? We don't know. We do know that a coordinating internal security evaluation committee *was* secretly established in 1970 within the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department. Its activities resemble those of the group the Huston report would have set up. Elliot Richardson, the new attorney general, has said he will disband the unit.

Important questions have been raised by the apparent ease with which the huge foreign intelligence community could secretly be brought together by the White House so that its legal and illegal "talents" could be used against Americans. Along with the already publicized manipulation of CIA and the FBI for domestic political purposes, this invasion and redirection of the intelligence community by the Nixon administration needs further investigation.

Hands Off the Investigation

y Felix Frankfurter

n May 1924, when he wrote the following article for he New Republic, *Felix Frankfurter was a professor f law at Harvard. Senators Thomas Walsh and Burton . Wheeler, both Democrats, were conducting hearings n bribery and other forms of illegal activity in the admintration of President Harding, who had died just as the candal was breaking, and been succeeded by his Vice resident, Calvin Coolidge. The generic name for the larding administration scandals came to be Teapot Dome, lthough a number of not necessarily connected scandals ere actually involved. Sinclair and Doheny were oil en who were charged with obtaining leases on public nds through bribery. Harry Daugherty had been Hardg's attorney general and was also charged with corrupon. Criminal prosecutions were in the offing as these enate hearings were being conducted.*—THE EDITORS

o grave were the first disclosures made by the Walsh nd Wheeler investigations that the immediate esponse of the country was profound humiliation. nly the recently disavowed organ of the Republican National Committee ventured brazenly to attack the exposers and minimize the exposure. But, as the effect of the impact of these disclosures wore off, partly because of the very extent of the revelations, public preoccupation with private worries and bewilderment over the variety of complicated issues were exploited by various powerful forces, from a variety of motives ranging from the lowest to moral confusion, all with a view to discrediting investigation and arresting its further progress. The gathering forces against the investigations and the investigators reached their culminating reinforcement in the support of a President who, while professing a desire to vindicate the law, assumes that law and order are bounded by the Penal Code, and helped to create an atmosphere in which necessary investigation could not thrive.

Emboldened by the successful offensive against the pending investigations in Washington, various suggestions are afloat with a view to curbing future Walsh and Wheeler investigations. Professing, of course, that wrong-doing, impropriety and unwhole-

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some standards in public life should be exposed, critics, who have nothing to say for the astounding corruption and corrupting soil that have been brought to light, seek to divert attention and shackle the future by suggesting restrictions in the procedure of future congressional investigations.

A proper judgment of the Walsh and Wheeler investigations involves a consideration of 1) the situation which confronted them, 2) their accomplishments, 3) their alleged abuses. Only after such consideration can we properly assess 4) the pertinence of any formal change in the procedure of congressional investigation.

1) *Situation confronting Walsh and Wheeler.* When the Harding administration began—in fact preceding it—the air was full of indications of the sinister influences that were to prevail and were prevailing in the conduct of some of the vital departments of the government. Around Fall and Daugherty suspicions steadily clustered. Washington was thick with talk, and not the talk of irresponsibles. As time went on the intimations became more and more outspoken; but every influence of authority, of powerful social connections, of the press, the whole milieu of officialdom in Washington was on the side of those in power and against disclosure and truth-telling. More than that, when things could no longer be stemmed and an investigation of Daugherty's administration was entered upon by a House Committee, the forces of wrong-doing rendered such an investigation abortive and futile, and thereby served to discredit further accusations and their investigation.

For nearly two years the efforts to uncover wrong-doing in the disposal of our public domain were hampered by every conceivable obstruction on the part of those in office and those influential out of office; involving members of the President's official entourage, and including perjury before a Senate committee on the part of one of the closest friends of the late President and one on close terms with the present Executive. The vast investigatorial agencies of the government not only failed to cooperate with the efforts to unearth wrong-doing; they positively sought to frustrate congressional activity.

Governmental machinery, prestige, wealth, agencies of publicity—all were for covering up things. No one who has not had some experience of the power the government *can* exert is able to realize the tremendous pressure against which Walsh and Wheeler were contending. Both the hostile resources and the inertia that they had to overcome were incredible. The odds that they thus encountered must be felt and not merely intellectually admitted and lightly dismissed.

2) *Accomplishments of Walsh and Wheeler.* These are beyond question: the bills filed by the government against the Sinclair and Doheny leases are based upon the findings of the Walsh committee, namely, corruption and conspiracy rendered possible through Secretary Fall's corruption and Secretary Denby's guileless incompetence; the disgrace of, and pending grand jury inquiry into, a recent member of the Cabinet—Fall; the resignation of another member through incompetence—Denby; the dismissal of a third member—the attorney general—because of an enveloping malodorous atmosphere.

It is safe to say that never in the history of this country have congressional investigations had to contend with such powerful odds, never have they so quickly revealed wrong-doing, incompetence and low public standards on such a wide scale, and never have such investigations resulted so effectively in compelling correction through the dismissal of delinquent officials. All this, it must be remembered again and again, was done by Congress against obstructing executive departments and, to put it mildly, unassisted by a President, who, unlike Roosevelt, is not a crusader against wrong-doing.

3) *Alleged Abuses.* One would like to have a bill of particulars of these alleged abuses. Objection is frequently taken against irrelevant, unfair and unsubstantial charges and to the character of some of the witnesses. It is not easy to be patient with such an attitude. What were the irrelevant charges before the Walsh committee, and what were the impropriety in pursuing those charges? Certainly Senator Walsh has established all the charges surrounding the oil leases up to the hilt. Objections are made to the testimony centering around alleged pre-nomination and pre-election affairs in 1920. Surely it was relevant to ascertain whether interests were on the lookout to put into the Department of the Interior a man who, honestly or dishonestly, held one attitude rather than another toward our natural resources. Necessarily much of this was hearsay and gossip. Nevertheless there emerged definitely the fact that [Jake] Hamon [multimillionaire from Oklahoma] spent a huge sum of money for campaign purposes. If these aren't "leads" properly to be pursued, then we had better frankly admit that the power of congressional investigation is a sham, and not an effective instrument for ventilating issues.

What are the specific objections to be made against the hearings conducted by Senator Wheeler? Of course the character of the witnesses in many instances was disreputable. It is of the essence of the whole Daugherty affair that the attorney general of the United States was involved in questionable association with disreputable characters. It is naively suggested as to these individuals, that "they are not competent witnesses. But they are exhibits." It is difficult, at best, to get witnesses to talk. This criticism is familiar to everyone who has ever had anything to do with criminal prosecutions, namely, an attempt to divert attention from the misconduct of the defendant to the character of the witnesses against him. Of course the character of a witness is a relevant item. If by the

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witnesses that Senator Wheeler produced he was able to furnish a "living demonstration of the atmosphere which prevailed in and around the Attorney General of the United States," how possibly could that conclusion have been demonstrated except in the way in which Senator Wheeler demonstrated it? Eminent lawyers might have done it a little differently—but the chances are very strong that they wouldn't have done it at all. It requires pertinacity and high indifference to the winds that blow to drive through the obstacles that faced Senator Wheeler. The performance of such a man in such a situation cannot be finely weighed, by a distant onlooker after the event, on an apothecary's scale.

4) *Revision of Procedure of Congressional Investigations.* Nothing in the experience of the Walsh and Wheeler investigations reveals the need of changing the process or confining the limits of congressional investigations. The proper scope and methods of procedure appropriate to congressional investigations depend on the conception of the part they play in enabling Congress to discharge its basic duties. This has been nowhere better expressed than by Woodrow Wilson in his Congressional Government:

> It is the proper duty of a representative body to look diligently into every affair of government and to talk much about what it sees. It is meant to be the eyes and the voice, and to embody the wisdom and will of its constituents. Unless Congress have and use every means of acquainting itself with the acts and the disposition of the administrative agents of the government, the country must be helpless to learn how it is being served; and unless Congress both scrutinize these things and sift them by every form of discussion, the country must remain in embarrassing, crippling ignorance of the very affairs which it is most important that it should understand and direct. The informing function of Congress should be preferred even to its legislative function.

Undoubtedly the names of people who have done nothing criminal or wrong, or nothing even offending taste perhaps, have been mentioned in connection with these investigations. The question is not whether people's feelings here and there may be hurt, or names 'dragged through the mud," as it is called. The real issue is whether the danger of abuses and the actual harm done are so clear and substantial that the grave risks of fettering free congressional inquiry are to be incurred by artificial and technical limitations upon inquiry. Any quantitative and qualitative judgment of what Walsh and Wheeler were up against, what they produced and how they produced it, leaves the experienced and disinterested mind, duly regardful of the investigating duties of Congress, wholly without justification for changing congressional procedure.

It must be remembered that our rules of evidence are *but tools for ascertaining* the truth, and that these tools vary with the nature of the issues and the nature of the tribunal seeking facts. Specifically the system of rules of evidence used in trials before juries "are mainly aimed at guarding the jury from the overweening effect of certain kinds of evidence." That system, as pointed out by Wigmore, "is not applicable by historical precedent, or by sound practical policy" to "inquiries of fact determinable by administrative tribunals." Still less is it applicable to inquiries by congressional committees.

It must be remembered that in various fields there is no legal protection against harm due to unfettered speech. The only safeguards are those secured by social and moral pressure. Thus the immunities enjoyed by judges and legislators for anything said by them as judges and as legislators are founded on deep experience. So also the abuses of the printing press are not sought to be corrected by legal restriction or censorship in advance because the remedy is worse than the disease. For the same reason congressional inquiry ought not to be fettered by advance rigidities, because in the light of experience there can be no reasonable doubt that such curtailment would make effective investigation almost impossible.

Our criminal procedure has been constantly under fire by the legal profession, from Chief Justice Taft down, because of its self-defeating technicalities. In a report to the American Bar Association, vigorous demand has recently been made for the liberalization of rules of evidence and procedure in criminal cases. Taken in connection with the proposal to curb the investigating powers of Congress, what is urged, in effect, is that we abandon the technical limitations that have been established to protect men from being sent to jail too readily, but introduce them into a field where they have never been resorted to and where they are wholly out of place, namely, in the exercise of the informing function of Congress.

A good deal must be left to the standards that Congress imposes upon itself and its committees; a good deal must be left to the duty of newspapers to report fairly and not sensationally, and to interpret wisely; a good deal must be left to the good sense of people.

In conclusion there is no substantial basis for criticism of the investigations conducted by Senator Walsh and Senator Wheeler. Whatever inconveniences may have resulted are inseparable incidents of an essential exertion of governmental power, and to talk about these incidents is to deflect attention from wrong-doing and its sources.

The procedure of congressional investigation should remain as it is. No limitations should be imposed by congressional legislation or standing rules. The power of investigation should be left untrammelled, and the methods and forms of each investigation should be left for determination of Congress and its committees as each situation arises. The safeguards against abuse and folly are to be looked for in the forces of responsibility that are operating from within Congress, and are generated from without.

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Playing the Barbarians Off against Each Other

China Journal—II

by Stanley Karnow

The Chinese originally purchased four Trident jet airliners from Britain but in September 1971, according to official, still unpublished accounts, one of the aircraft crashed in Mongolia killing Marshal Lin Piao as he tried to flee to the Soviet Union following his abortive attempt to overthrow Mao Tse-tung. So now there are three Tridents, and I am aboard one of them from Canton to Peking. The economy class section of the airplane is crowded with passengers seated three abreast, but the spacious forward compartment is empty. Is it first class? No, I am told, it is reserved for VIPs. What VIPs? High officials, I am told.

In Peking my NBC News colleagues and I are joined by three other American journalists to become a group which, with some exceptions, is the way the Chinese authorities seem to prefer to handle "foreign friends," as visitors to China are invariably labeled. This is largely, I think, because the government lacks guides and interpreters. The number of visitors is also limited by a severe shortage of hotel space, and the effort to overcome the gap is visible both here and in Canton in the round-the-clock construction of new hotels. I hope they are brighter than the lugubrious piles built by the Soviet Union in Peking, Canton and elsewhere. In any case travelers do not choose their hotel. We are assigned to the Minzu, or Nationalities, which is theoretically supposed to lodge non-Han Chinese citizens during their trips to the national capital. Those of us who accompanied President Nixon to China last year stayed at the Minzu. It is a social notch below the Peking Hotel, which is usually reserved for diplomats and state guests. The main contrast between the two places, it appears to me, is in their lobbies. Downstairs at the Minzu is late Stalin while the foyer of the Peking, with its gilded columns and lush draperies, resembles the decor of *Aïda*.

Foreigners who resided in Peking before the Liberation, as the Communist takeover is called, considered it the most delicious city in the world. Unlike the *taipans* of Shanghai, who clung to their European concessions and their extraterritorial rights, they felt themselves to be immersed in China and the Chinese. But the lot of Peking's current foreign community, which has lately grown with the addition of Ambassador and Mrs. David Bruce and 30 other Americans attached to the US Liaison Office, is markedly different. Foreign diplomats and journalists living here nowadays are confined to a ghetto of special apartment houses and legations, and their contact with the Chinese is minimal. A European diplomat I know explains that the only Chinese he sees besides his servants, who are provided by a government bureau, is the Foreign Ministry functionary designated to handle him. Western newsmen rarely go beyond their interpreters, also provided by the government, and a handful of press officials. On the other hand, the French ambassador, Etienne Manac'h, a wise and seasoned gentleman, frequently chats with Premier Chou En-la and even arranged a session with Mao last summer fo Maurice Schumann, then French foreign minister Bruce's ambiguous diplomatic status is paradoxically expected to give him similar clout—although it i doubtful that his fashionable wife will ever get to dis play her expensive wardrobe in this austere atmos phere. The loneliest diplomat in town is the Sovie ambassador, Vasily Tolstikov, who was farmed out t Peking after losing his post as Communist Party chie of Leningrad in an internecine Kremlin squabble. H spends much time denouncing the Chinese to othe members of the diplomatic corps.

There are a number of other foreigners here who ar not often seen by visitors. Some have been living i China for years, either because they are fond of th Chinese or are Communist sympathizers, or both. Th most prominent is Dr. George Hatem, who was bor in Buffalo and first went to Shanghai in 1933 as young physician. He helped the Communists to set u a hospital during their guerrilla days, and after the took power stayed on to open the Institute of Venere ology and Skin Diseases, which is said to hav eliminated syphilis throughout China. A few othe Americans, among them Sydney Rittenberg, Isra Epstein and Epstein's British wife Elsie (*née* Fairfa Cholmondely), went overboard for the Maoist caus during the Cultural Revolution and were arrested, ap parently for "ultraleftism," when the line swung to th right. The Epsteins and others were released not lon ago and invited to a banquet at which Chou En-l spoke kindly to them. But Rittenberg, who was assoc ated with a radical group that seized the Foreig Ministry in August 1967, is still under wraps. Judgin from a conversation with one of them, I gather th several of the American and other expatriates here a somewhat confused, uneasy and maybe disappointe by the Chinese reconciliation with Richard Nixon an visits to China by such formerly heinous figures

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)seph Alsop.

As in most authoritarian countries, visiting journal-
ɜts are usually accorded broader latitude than resident
orrespondents. Columnists like Alsop, James Reston
nd Marquis Childs had exclusive interviews with
hou En-lai, which residents never have, and short-
mers travel to places that are barred to newsmen
ased here. Even so, visitors do not really operate
eely in China. During the Nixon trip last year, for
xample, a couple of colleagues and I asked some
andom teachers and students at Peking University to
)in us in a discussion. We thought that we had finally
otten off the beaten track until, in reply to a fine
oint, one of the students said: "As I told Mr. Reston
ɜst summer. . . ." So a tour of China is inevitably pre-
ared in advance, with shills all along the way. But
ven if they are primed for foreigners, the Chinese are
vely interlocutors. They will field any question with
quanimity and their answers, often inadvertently,
re insightful.

We are fortunate to have a pair of dedicated, articu-
ɜte guides who have not only moved into the hotel to
ater to our needs but are themselves valuable conver-
ationalists. Both represent government associations
ɜat specialize in steering around, and perhaps keep-
ɜg an eye on, foreigners. The son of a schoolteacher,
Iao Kuo-hua is a lean, rather nervous man in his early
0s who was born and raised in Ningpo, one of the old
eaty ports on the China coast south of Shanghai. He
ɜ evidently senior to Chen Teh-jen, a cheerful young
voman from Peking. I guess that Mao Kuo-hua may
ave had some trying moments during the Cultural
evolution when the Red Guards were harassing
fficials suspected of bourgeois inclinations. He con-
acted an ulcer and spent three years at a rural May
eventh Cadre School, which was a more rigorous
rdeal in those days than it is now. He claims, how-
ver, that transplanting rice and other hard labor cured
is ulcer, and he says that he would have remained
ɜ the countryside had not his fluency in English
rompted his call to duty as a guide when China again
pened to the world. Perhaps. Mrs. Chen, in contrast,
ɜ relaxed and vivacious. She laughs easily and man-
ges to look chic even in a brown tunic and baggy
)ants. She tells me that her husband, whom we never
ɜeet even though we ask her to bring him to dinner,
lso belongs to an organization that deals with for-
igners. They have a seven-year-old daughter who
ives with Mrs. Chen's parents, since she and her hus-
)and are rarely together during the week. They some-
imes meet *en famille* on Sunday, when she cooks
linner "just for the fun of it." It may be a sign of The
haw that Mrs. Chen borrows a book from me, an Eric
mbler spy novel.

For anyone who has endured the purgatory of air-
)orts around the world, the Peking airport is a refresh-
ng change. Since traffic is light, it is relatively clean
ɜd quiet. The ornate terminal building, which fea-
tures one of the few statues of Mao I see in Peking, is large and airy, and its restaurant is excellent. More significantly, the airport is the best place in town, after the Great Hall of the People, at which to observe high-level dignitaries.

When President Nixon was planning his China visit last year, the Chinese could not understand his preoccupation with security. There are no security precautions here—or at least none visible. This was illustrated the other day as Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the Cambodian chief of state who lives in exile in Peking, departed on a trip abroad. Except for Mao, his wife Chiang Ching and a few other Communist Party leaders, the entire Chinese government headed by Chou En-lai appeared to mingle with the assortment of diplomats, journalists and well-wishers present. According to ritual, Chou and his comrades lined up to wait until Sihanouk's airplane taxied out to the strip and actually took off, and their arrangement seemed to indicate the ranking of the Chinese hierarchy. Chou formed a triumvirate with Marshal Yeh Chien-ying, who has probably been managing the Ministry of Defense since the fall of Lin Piao, and Li Hsien-nien, the key economic figure. The others, among them several ministers, stood apart in a large group. And alone, almost in embarrassing isolation, was Teng Hsiao-ping, the former party secretary general who had been purged during the Cultural Revolution and only surfaced again in early April. They need Teng in their effort to stabilize the country, partly because he is an experienced organizer and partly because his rehabilitation should serve to convince many reluctant cadres that they too can win redemption despite their humiliation during the Cultural Revolution. But Teng's lonely position at the airport left me with the impression that he has not been fully accepted back into the leadership club. They may need him, but they don't have to talk to him.

An equally striking impression that comes from observing Chou and his associates at close range is that they are very old men. It is difficult to imagine, looking at them, that most were active revolutionaries 40 or 50 years ago. It is also difficult to forecast who will succeed them. The question of succession is one of the most pressing problems in Peking. Mao's fear in the mid-1960s that he would be followed by Soviet-style "revisionists" was one of his principal motives for launching the Cultural Revolution. The unsuccessful attempt by Lin Piao to assert his authority was linked as well to the succession issue. Although Chou En-lai has said breezily that there are plenty of young men to take over, nobody seriously believes that the transfer of power will be easy. The army, which filled the vacuum created by the disruption of the party machine during the Cultural Revolution, is still firmly entrenched in the provinces, and it shows few signs of ceding to civilian cadres even though tremendous

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efforts are now being made to reconstruct the trade union federation, the youth league and other old institutions. The prospect, then, is for future struggles—the outcome of which are impossible to predict at this stage.

If Americans can visit China at all these days, it is because the Chinese have estimated that the US threat has been replaced by the Soviet threat; the Chinese are playing the barbarians off against each other in their traditional diplomatic style. Their relations with the Kremlin, which were never as warm as Western cold warriors believed, began to deteriorate when Mao and Khrushchev started to argue about world strategy 15 or 16 years ago. The dispute gradually degenerated into an ideological and later national conflict that climaxed in 1969 in actual clashes both on China's northeastern border and along the Sinkiang frontiers in Central Asia. A full-scale war was avoided when Chou En-lai and Soviet Premier Kosygin met at the Peking airport in September 1969 and agreed to open negotiations. The only result of the talks, which have dragged on here since then, is that they have averted a larger conflagration.

Several Western experts submit that the domestic Chinese crisis that culminated in the death of Lin Piao and the purge of his military cohorts was partly connected to the question of how to deal with the Soviet Union. These experts suggest that Lin Piao also considered the Russians to be the major threat, but argued for a rapprochement with Moscow before a reconciliation with the United States on the grounds that a move toward the Americans would provoke the Soviet Union to adopt a tougher stance toward China. At the same time, according to this thesis, Lin Piao called for heavier investments in the research and construction of sophisticated weapons so that the Chinese could bargain with the Kremlin from a position of strength. This presumably infuriated Mao, who by the middle of the 1960s had come to regard the Russians as his principal enemy, not only because they militarily menaced China but because their ideological "revisionism" might influence the Chinese and thereby endanger his own brand of communism. Mao therefore preferred a détente with the United States, and he was supported by Chou En-lai, who had his own motives for opposing Lin Piao. Among them were Chou's conviction that the priority should be internal economic development, particularly in agriculture, rather than expenditures on advanced weapons. Chou apparently calculated that his diplomatic skill, combined with China's already impressive arsenal of nuclear bombs and missiles, could prevent war with Russia.

Now that the new Sino-American relationship is on track, some Western specialists speculate that Chou may improve China's frayed ties with Moscow by responding to a standing Soviet offer that the two countries agree to renounce the use of force and work out a *modus vivendi* to avoid future skirmishes along thei common boundary. Such a maneuver by Chou woul be designed to give China stronger leverage with th United States. Whether Chou will take that step re mains to be seen. I think it is worth emphasizing however, that China's present American link is not marriage or even a love affair, but a tactic that ma only be transient. The point is made quite clearly i a pamphlet available everywhere here entitled *O Studying Some World History*, written under a pseudo nym by four Peking University professors, two c them Harvard graduates. Evidently inspired by Chou they stress that China ought to take advantage of dif ferences between the United States and the Sovie Union. The "bitter rivalry" between American an Soviet imperialism, they say, "provides favorabl conditions for the victory of the revolutionary people." Which is another way of arguing for pragmatic trian gular diplomacy, or otherwise stated: no permaner friends, just permanent interests.

With all this, the Chinese want to underline for nov at least that the Soviet threat is predominant eve though war may not be imminent. For that reason w were taken to an air raid shelter constructed under T Cha Lan, a busy shopping street in the Shuan Wu dis trict of Peking, south of the famous Tienanmen Square Descending into the shelter, which is something of tourist attraction these days, is like entering a scen from an old Fu Manchu movie. We go into an innocu ous clothing store and, behind a counter, an automati trap door opens in the floor. We then file down a rick ety staircase into a clammy maze of subterranea passages that ultimately lead into a large, fluorescent lighted chamber in which, seated at a long table an served tea, we listen to a blackboard briefing delivere by a young woman.

The underground tunnel complex in this distric alone, the young woman explains, runs for nearl 3000 yards and is linked to other systems else where in Peking and out into the suburbs two mile away. The shelter contains radio and telephone com munications, toilets, a water supply and first ai station, and, of course, the kind of piped-in inspira tional music that flows through every public place i China. Drills demonstrate that people can move int the shelter within five or six minutes through 90 en trances located in shops around the area. The tim seems to be ample, since the Soviet border is 600 mile from Peking, and warning systems have been set up t alert the city. Construction did not begin until lat 1969, following the border clashes between Soviet an Chinese troops, which suggests quite clearly that th Chinese authorities did not seriously contemplate ar American attack, at least against Peking, during th Vietnam conflict. The young woman completes her re cital with the information that the shelter was built b the "broad masses" with homemade tools. "They dis

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)layed a spirit of fearing neither hardship nor fatigue," ;he says.

A soldier who identifies himself as a staff member)f the People's Anti-Air Raid Office takes over. He :andidly concedes that the shelter is flawed because 'we lacked experience." Its entrances are too narrow ınd the air filter system has defects. The shelter is also :oo small to accommodate more than a small fraction)f the 80,000 people who are in the Shuan Wu district luring the week. But, the soldier asserts, "we can re-luce losses to a minimum if we are ready." Does anyone believe that the Soviet Union will attack China? The question is speculative. The response is the Boy Scout motto: be prepared.

As we drive away I ask Mr. Mao, the guide, if the soldier who briefed us is an officer or enlisted man. "Members of the People's Liberation Army do not wear insignia of rank," he answers. "But there must be grades," I insist. "We call it division of labor," he explains. "So some soldiers are superior to others," I continue. "Yes," Mr. Mao replies, "and they receive higher salaries too."

Battle over the Persian Gulf

Oil and Arms

by Tad Szulc

The opening phase of the monumental battle over the Persian Gulf and its immensely rich oil reserves—with wide-ranging implications for world fuel supplies, Middle Eastern stability and big-power strategies, and the fate of the US dollar—is now well underway. Despite the enormous stakes, the United States finds itself politically and financially vulnerable and uncertain, without a comprehensive policy and dangerously improvising. This is due in part to the chronic inability of the Nixon administration over the past four years to develop a coherent foreign economic policy, to its lack of foresightedness in energy problems combined with an ill-conceived favoritism for powerful domestic oil interests, and to its penchant for military-type solutions—the breathless overarming of our Persian Gulf allies—when political options may have not yet been altogether exhausted. The $4 billion in planned sales of sophisticated US aircraft and weapons to Iran and Saudi Arabia is, among other things, an effort to assure the US of uninterrupted oil flow in direct competition with Western Europe and Japan, which are seeking to achieve the same result through enticing economic "package deals" with the producers.

The other reason for the problem, of course, is the gathering rebellion of the oil-producing countries against domination by the great international petroleum corporations—and the West is helpless to cope with it.

Other dimensions of this immensely complex crisis are the lack of unity among the US, Western Europe and Japan—the principal non-Communist world oil consumers—as well as the tremendous leverage now wielded by the producing countries in terms of their hard-currency and gold reserves running into billions of dollars. Finally there is the continuing instability of the dollar, which is among both the causes and effects of the present emergency.

The central and overwhelming fact is that the United States and the other industrialized Western nations incredibly underestimated at the outset of the first Nixon administration the demand for oil during the '70s and overestimated the available reserves outside the Middle East. Everything else derives from this fundamental, inexplicable error, although it should be added that US domestic oil producer lobbies with potent friends inside the White House seemed to have deliberately underestimated our needs and exaggerated reserves at home, thus succeeding in having Nixon turn down in 1970 the recommendation of his own Cabinet task force for lifting quotas on imports of Middle Eastern oil in favor of a tariff system. The same task force, however, estimated the US demand for oil in 1980 at only 18.5 million barrels daily, which would have made us largely self-sufficient if indeed we had the claimed reserves, but now State Department projections are for 24 million barrels with domestic production capable of providing only one-half of it;

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this is why we live today in a savage oil sellers' market, why we have to begin rationing fuel (which, in turn, is already having an impact on US farm production and thus prices), and why the confrontation is upon us.

The oil shortage led the 11-nation Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), six of whose members are on the Persian Gulf, to make it clear to consumers that henceforth business would be done on their terms. By 1970 the West was still underestimating the OPEC leverage (the Arabs must sell their oil, was the conventional wisdom of the day) and the sophistication of its negotiators.

The British decision in 1969-70 to abandon its power position in the Persian Gulf (the Labor government chose to cut its responsibilities "east of Suez") was probably one of history's great instances of bad timing. It resulted in a wholly new strategic situation. The United States concluded that it, with Britain, must fill the power vacuum militarily to discourage both new Soviet inroads in the Middle East and the threat of internal radicalism to the authoritarian regimes in Iran, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the new Arab amirates on the gulf. Today we find ourselves as underwriters and participants in a major arms race in the gulf region, a policy decision that, among its other effects, has brought a new threat of armed conflict within the area and a serious deterioration in relations with Israel. The latter, inevitably, feels itself menaced by the notion that Saudi Arabia, long the banker for the Arab foes of Israel, is about to be purchasing US Phantom aircraft. The US has become the prisoner of its own policies; it cannot extricate itself from the gulf arms race.

The genesis of this involvement was the Nixon administration's decision in 1970 that Iran should be the new military power in the gulf, acting as a semi-surrogate for the West and making up for Soviet aircraft and arms shipments to Iraq, a radical Arab state at odds with the Iranians as well as with Kuwait. By 1973 the shah of Iran had decided that he should become a regional superpower. His military purchases, including Phantoms, have now reached the level of $2.5 billion, and Washington has already assigned 1100 American military personnel, plus 300 civilians, to act as advisers and instructors for the Iranian armed forces. This is the largest US military presence outside of Asia and Western Europe.

Not to be left behind, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait in recent months contracted respectively for $1.5 billion and $500 million in US military equipment. The Saudis are buying Phantoms and the Kuwaitis the F-8 Crusader, a navy jet fighter-bomber just a notch below the Phantom's capability, as well as Hawk anti-aircraft missile systems.

It is no secret that there are senior officials in the State Department—as there are officials in friendly countries—who take a dim view of this development. Their reasons range from concern that the basic instability in the region may lead to conflicts between individual gulf states now about to obtain sophisticated hardware (Kuwait and Iraq fought a brief war last March) to the possibility that the military in these countries may, feeling their new power, stage radical coups on the Libyan model.

The new US policy has been rationalized along several lines. One is the argument that our gulf friends must be strong to face up to a possible new Soviet buildup in the Middle East through Iraq, and to Arab radicalism—though as noted above this could be self-defeating. The official line is that radicals in South Yemen are a danger to the stability of Saudi Arabia and Oman. It is also argued that these cash purchases of arms by the rich gulf states are invaluable for the still deteriorating US balance of payments (particularly since OPEC's pressures have already doubled the price of crude oil) and for the limping US aircraft industry. The third argument, taking us back to Iran, is that the shah needs the arsenal in part because of his concern over the situation in the Indian subcontinent, where India, backed by Moscow, defeated Pakistan in 1971 in the war over Bangladesh. The shah, who says he is worried about other separatist movements in Pakistan, notably in Baluchistan, wants a secure eastern flank.

Finally, according to sources in Washington, both Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have indicated that they may curtail oil production—their most powerful argument in all negotiations and the source of the greatest fear in Washington—if they are not allowed to buy weapons systems in the US. They have also indicated they may turn to France, a prospect that deeply disturbs the Pentagon's procurement experts.

Little noticed in this whole situation is that a virtual alliance has been built among Iran, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Abu Dhabi and Oman with quiet US blessing. A related fact is that Pakistan, an ally of the United States, is playing an increasingly important role in the Persian Gulf. This is the result of a Pakistani decision to end the country's isolation in the Middle East and South Asia and not to have to depend exclusively on China as the only friendly neighbor. Hence the Iranian alliance. In mid-June, Secretary Rogers made a point of attending the CENTO meeting in Teheran, where he defended the sales of US arms in the region as a stabilizing influence for peace.

The shah has visited Pakistan twice since 1972. Pakistan's new president, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, has been to Teheran three times, most recently last month. He also visited Kuwait and Abu Dhabi. The Abu Dhabi ruler, Shaikh Zayed Bin-Sultan al-Nahyan, went to Pakistan early this year. Abu Dhabi, whose oil revenues this year are estimated at $750 million (for a population of 70,000), is building an oil refinery and a fertilizer plant in Pakistan. A Pakistani is the

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ıief economic adviser in Abu Dhabi and Pakistanis :e training Kuwait's pilots.

Against this strategic background—and the new US ıvolvements—looms the larger problem of oil sup- ly. This is where the US is the most vulnerable. Few f our officials believe that the Arab oil-producing ›untries, with the possible exception of Libya which ıis month nationalized a Texas-owned operation ·orth $140 million, will cut off supplies to the United tates to force a change in Washington's support for rael. The problem is more complicated and relates › how much oil the OPEC countries are prepared to ring out of the ground in the coming years to satisfy Vestern and Japanese demand. The producers, includ- ıg Venezuela in our hemisphere, know that in a sell- :'s market oil may often be more valuable under the round. The 1973 exports by the 11 OPEC countries :e estimated at 10.2 billion barrels. The World Bank rojects exports of 16.3 billion barrels in 1980, assum- ıg that these countries will maintain the current roduction increase rate.

What worries the US—and others—is that the OPEC roup may start slowing down production and exports ›r a variety of reasons, including the hope of boost- ıg the crude price level further. Even now US compa- ies and the companies and governments in Western urope and Japan are scrambling for Middle Eastern il supplies. Each is out for himself. The producing ›untries are in no position to form a consumers' ırtel. In fact the US and the others are pursuing holly different tacks.

The US is simply seeking to preserve as long as ›ssible the status quo under which US companies ·main as concessionaires in Middle Eastern oil fields, ıough with decreasing equity, and act as transport- ·s and merchandisers of oil. This is also the British ›sition. However, Western Europe and Japan, re- ›onsive to Middle Eastern desires for total control of l, are coming up with imaginative new schemes. Iasao Sakisaka, president of the Japanese Institute of nergy Economics, wrote in a recent paper that "other il consuming nations are haunted by the fear that ıe US, using its influence via the Government and ·ajor oil firms over Iran and Saudi Arabia, may out- ıaneuver them in securing supply of oil from these ›untries." Sakisaka was evidently thinking of the US ilitary involvement with the Iranians and the Saudis. This American move," he wrote, "is liable to drive il consuming countries to approach producing na- ons on their own in an attempt to secure the prime ›urce of energy . . . Europe and Japan are likely to ›proach producing countries for direct purchase of ·ude, offer package deals for development of oil elds and joint ventures, and Government-backed ·onomic and technological cooperation to back up ıeir offers."

In a statement on energy policy guidelines, the Commission of the European Communities said last April that it would propose to the top-level Council of the European Communities the "desirability of instituting . . . a system of 'approved' companies whereby companies giving certain undertakings would be entitled to special concessions in return." Put in other words, this proposal calls for the designation by the Western European community of several private companies to represent it in dealing with the producing countries. Although the oil producers, hostile toward the free-swinging foreign companies, are known to favor this approach, the US cannot match it. As a senior administration official said this month, "Can you imagine Nixon picking Exxon or Gulf over the others to represent the US? It would be political folly here."

Under the circumstances, the only possible form of cooperation between the US on the one hand and Western Europe and Japan on the other is a system for sharing supplies in a major emergency and a buildup of stocks. Otherwise, officials say, the US is bereft of new ideas.

One aborted idea was a reported proposal to Saudi Arabia to deposit a large part of its dollar reserves in American banks. With the Saudis expected to earn $3.3 billion in oil exports in 1973 alone, the administration's idea was that such a move would help our balance of payments and further improve ties with Saudi Arabia in a "special relationship." The Saudis rejected it indignantly on the grounds it would freeze their money, which they may wish to use politically, and would freeze their leverage. Instead Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have been showing growing interest in *investing* in US securities on Wall Street (even now they are picking up bargains on the low market) and, vertically, in the domestic US oil industry. Because the international movement of money is one of the world's best kept secrets, there are no figures on Arab investments here: one billion dollars is an educated guess.

American oil companies, some of whose stocks are bargains these days, fear that excessive Arab investments may hand the Arabs corporate control, say, through the purchase of 25 percent of outstanding stock. This is giving the companies the willies.

In broader terms the fervent hope in Washington is that the Arabs will use their money wisely. With total OPEC revenues estimated at $16.8 billion in 1973 and $35 billion by 1980, it does not take much imagination to perceive what "unwise" use of such money could do to the stability of the dollar and even world financial structures. That Kuwait has begun investing in World Bank bonds is, for example, considered a "wise" type of behavior. But as matters stand now, nobody is prepared to predict anything about the oil picture or even about the outcome of the Persian Gulf confrontation. The only consensus is that the US, as never before, is highly vulnerable.

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Stanley Kauffmann on films

Blume in Love

(Warner Bros.)

The Friends of Eddie Coyle

(Paramount)

The old mass-production, "magazine-publishing" system of the film industry, that relied on a faithfully returning audience, is long gone. Filmmaking is now much more like book-publishing: almost every film is an independent venture, a one-shot business in itself. Only two kinds of products make money more or less reliably these days, horror films and black action films. (Porno is a huge business, but that isn't filmmaking as we're discussing it, it's ministration.)

The producers have to keep probing the market, and one result of the probe is the highly personal, idiosyncratic, unconventional film. Although in cold fact it is just one more kind of capital venture, at the audience end it has the effect of empowerment—an artistic liberty, new in US films, comparable with the liberty in other arts. The first milestone in this direction was *The Graduate*, a landslide success. It was followed by a lot of imitations—the Youth Wave—which fizzled out, *not* (as is generally said) because people grew tired of youth pictures but because almost all the youth pictures were rotten. Yet the lasting effect of the Nichols film was to alter the climate: *M*A*S*H* and *Slither* are as much the result of *The Graduate* as was *The Magic Garden of Stanley Sweetheart*. And another result of this latter-day bubbling of inquiry is the career of Paul Mazursky.

Mazursky, with his then partner Larry Tucker, first came to wide attention with *Bob & Carol & Ted & Alice*, a cleverish comedy with a serpentine tail-in-its-own-mouth effect: it seemed finally to be about itself. Then he made another mirror-picture, *Alex in Wonderland*, about a film director looking for a subject who even goes to Rome to see Fellini because of *8 1/2*. (The end of *B & C & T & A* had been a direct steal from Fellini's film.) But to compare *Alex* with *8 1/2* is like comparing *Play It As It Lays* with *L'Avventura:* it would be an offense if it weren't a joke. Now Mazursky has written and directed *Blume in Love* (a cute inverted title); and it shows again that for some people, freedom is only a crushing burden.

Blume is a Los Angeles divorce lawyer seen at the beginning in the Piazza San Marco of Venice, bearded. The story is in flashbacks, interwoven with the present, and tells how he married a girl he loved, how he dallied with a secretary and was discovered, how his wife angrily divorced him, how the wife found a lover, how Blume—though he found a girl—still languished for his wife, how he intruded into his old home one night and raped his wife and got her pregnant, how later she was convinced that he genuinely loved her and that she might have been unduly angry or hasty in divorcing him, and how they finally reunite. (Numerous scenes with an analyst, a recurrent Mazursky theme.) The wife rejoins Blume in the Piazza San Marco, just in time for him to rush her to an obstetric ward. The various time planes of the film are clearly labeled by the stages of Blume's beard.

The picture is meant to be informal, exploratory, authentic, but the effect is as if an adolescent had been given adult prerogatives. The intentions are there, with small ability to implement them. First, the dialogue. Easy and elegiac, the camera slides us into the gorgeous piazza at the beginning, and Blum begins to speak about love—right out Hallmark greeting cards. The sent mentality spreads so far as to include i its categories of love a caricature *Death in Venice*—an attempted pick-u by a blatantly sensual man of a pret boy who is apparently an older woman gigolo. This pick-up is used as a ru ning gag through the film; at the en when Blume and wife are reunited, t man has the boy. If I thought th Mazursky were capable of ironic cou terpoint, I would say that this hom sexual strand was included as a da shadow of physicality, but there is r reason in the film to think that it meant as anything but another kind love. (Need I note that I'm talking abo the grossness of the pick-up, not t fact that it's homosexual?)

None of the writing rises much abo that opening. Further, Mazursky h the sophomoric belief that, when o throws off the strictures of formula pl this means that one can dawdle ar divagate, that no plot means no te sions. Scene after informal scene ju wanders along to an inconclusive finis Much of this slackness is due to t apparent fact that Mazursky is infat ated with Susan Anspach, whom cast as the wife and whom Blume irreversibly in love with, no matt what happens to himself or her. It's ha enough to credit Blume's consumi love in the face of Anspach's face, t most memorable feature of which many teeth, and her squeaky voice a her head of hair that looks like an o

(continued on page 33)

Films Worth Seeing

Cabaret. Slick musical, remotely connected with Isherwood's *Berlin Stories.* Michael York better than Liza Minnelli, which is one of the things wrong with the film. But Bob Fosse directs smartly.

The Discreet Charm of the Bourgeoisie. Luis Buñuel, seventy-something and something to marvel at, plays slyly with middle-class corruption.

Last Tango in Paris. A lot of it is adolescently stark and sententious, but the early Brando-Schneider sex scenes are powerful.

Memories of Underdevelopment. Fascinating, sensitive Cuban film about a bourgeois intellectual in the first days of the Castro revolution.

Payday. The last 36 hours in the life of a country-music star, played pungently by Rip Torn. Pleasantly different from some recent pretentiousness, it's more serious than it seems.

State of Siege. Fictional re-creation of the Tupamaro abduction and murder of an American official in Uruguay, 1970. Questionably objective, but generally gripping.

A Touch of Class. Old-fashioned comedy-romance, up to date. Mostly fast and frivolous. George Segal good as Yank in London, Glenda Jackson shows dazzling light-comic range.

SK

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Sedulus on TV

Pickling Our Minds

don't spend enough time in front of ıe tube to be called a regular viewer, ıuch less an "informed critic." The verage American in my age bracket tares at the thing four hours a day, but ıy 13-year-old said to me yesterday, Dad, you don't watch half an hour a ay. You come in and look at some-ıing the kids are watching, laugh and ave." In my defense: I *have* been nown to watch more than one show ll the way through, though that was hen I was in the hospital.

Do Americans really watch so much? new study, *Television and the Public* y Robert T. Bower (Holt, Rinehart & Vinston), says so. The study, funded y CBS, compares viewers' attitudes ıd habits in 1970 with 1960 and deter-ıines, by what would seem to be holly sound investigative procedures, ıat the average household—as distin-ıished from the individual—moved s daily watching up from five to six ours in 10 years, that there are no gnificant quantitative differences in ıe watching habits of old and young or lucated and uneducated, that the tube ıs fewer superfans than it used to, but still a major user-up of the national ne for entertainment, and that it is so now more respected as an educa-onal and news medium than it was in 960. (In passing: the study indicates ot only that I am not qualified to be TV critic but that I should give up riting for magazines because *nobody* atches magazines any more—for edu-tion, news, entertainment or just estrain.)

All right. All the signals are still go r the networks. To the industry, one the most gratifying particular dis-veries of the poll must be that tube ews coverage is now regarded as irer, less biased than newspaper cov-age (and miles ahead of magazines). ıt there is nothing really *un*gratifying be found in this book—a few com-aints about sex and violence, an nbiguous display of fear that the owing of the socially disruptive en-urages disruption, but in general no ositive assertions that TV affairs are not as they should be. The citizenry is docile in its armchairs. CBS can keep declaring dividends, and if only it can settle the problems of payola in the phonograph record division, reduce its bad press from having military contracts, and not alienate its news staff by being timid (some of its reporters were reportedly enraged at its higher-ups' recent decision to abandon instant punditry following presidential speeches), then it as well as the other networks should be good for another 10 years.

In other words the Bower study confirms that the public feels good about TV. Bower is at pains to point out that the study does not attempt to investigate what the effects of TV are, but only what the public feels the effects are. The public feels it is being entertained and made worldly and wise. It feels it is being educated, not conditioned, and it professes to want mostly more of the former (particularly the college-educated respect the education motif, but their actual watching habits do not reflect this; nor does their concern that people watch too much TV keep them from watching it at about the same rate as the ignoramuses). A-OK.

But four hours a day! The average American lives some of his life as if he were indeed in the hospital, and that kind of living surely is a *real* effect of TV. The passivity of those hours, the docility of the attendant feelings—no wonder the Bower polling reveals so little for the industry to be disturbed about. If in 1980 the average household's TV hours per week have risen again we will have every reason to fear that the national mind has been pickled and bottled.

But maybe the '70s will see a switch. Maybe public familiarity with the medium—now evidenced in the diminishing number of superfans—will slowly convert to super boredom. Persons will be seen again going outside and playing mumbly-peg—a discovery for the next Bower study that we all should pray for.

The American Eagle Speaks

(After Walt Whitman)

O Captain! my Captain! the prize you sought is won,
With bugles, banners, drums, bouquets, the voyage was begun.
The flagship crew signed on by you, the course you charted,
The hatches safely battened down, the log-book locked and guarded.

But O woe! woe! woe!
Awash off Watergate,
The bilge is rising to the bridge.
Bale out the Ship of State!

O Captain! my Captain! There swim top-ranking rats,
This fearful trip might make the ship a prize for Democrats.
O see the Senate on the watch, the Jury prosecuting,
O hear the Post in Washington the Last Post grimly tooting!

O Captain! my Captain!
Rise up and step ashore.
Now missiles pelt the slippery poop,
For you the people roar.

My Captain does not answer, his lips are firmly sealed
Although the Fifth Amendment stands as safeguard and as shield;
He does not hear when loud and clear they for the log-book call.
The world looks on, the Union hangs breathless on his fall!

O see! the ship lies on the rocks,
Another *Hesperus* wreck!
I know not if my Captain lies,
But he has hit the deck.

SAGITTARIUS

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No Stumbling Experiment

Foxfire 2

edited by Eliot Wigginton

(Anchor Press/Doubleday; $10, $4.50 paper)

George Eliot's *Silas Marner* had a bad press in our schools all through the '60s. It was a representative required English classic, a tome constantly cited by angry pedagogical innovators as an instance of where American education had gone wrong. In predominantly black urban schools its presence in the curriculum was taken as an insult to the students' own culture. *Silas Marner* helped black studies along tremendously.

It and other alleged morale-killers out of the "Great Tradition" also gave impetus to many schemes for improving student motivation—among whites as well as blacks—by encouraging creativity, self-expression, the strong do-it-yourself writing movement led by Kenneth Koch, Herbert Kohl and a small army of dissident teachers working inside and outside the schools. The "Foxfire concept" began as such an experiment—it was to be a magazine of student writings—but it was fortunate, thinks its founder, in being forced by early financial trouble "to emphasize folklore rather than poetry, for magazines devoted to verse almost never survive for very long on the market." The founder, Eliot Wigginton, might have added that playing down the poetry also gave the project a chance to become a strong communal venture.

Wigginton was fresh out of Cornell when he discovered that his ninth- and 10th-grade students in the Rabun Gap-Nacoocher School in Georgia needed to be sprung from *Silas Marner* if they were to be stopped from setting fire to his lectern and launching paper airplanes. One day he proposed to them that they "throw away the text and start a magazine." Among their early projects, aside from poetry, was a piece by students on planting crops "by the signs of the zodiac and the stages of the moon," the information to be picked up by the students themselves from talking with their elders, Appalachian mountain folk. Thus began the *Foxfire* emphasis upon the affairs of "plain living" in the pre-industrial culture that the students still could find in the flesh around them.

Since then their plain living subjects have mostly been solid and basic: how to build a log cabin, how to construct and run a still without being caught, how not to be woolly about wool, from the sheep-raising to the weaving of cloth. Sometimes however the studies are more esoteric: how to cook a hog's head, how to make an ox yoke, how to extract dyes from wild plants. Mixed in with the how-to studies are interviews with mountain elders, interviews full of the wisdom of those who still ride mules and wash clothes in iron pots. Most of their remarks are in dialect and painstakingly reproduced, the intention being both to represent the speakers accurately and retain for them the dignity that their lives, if put down without reportorial distortion by city slickers, naturally contain—here the model in word and photograph is Agee's *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men.*

Foxfire magazine has come out quarterly—except for a double issue or two—since 1967, and now has a hard-to-believe 6000 subscribers. The magazine's success led to a compilation in book form known as *The Foxfire Book,* which has now sold an even harder-to-believe 300,000 copies, enough to make *Foxfire 2* (and probably 3, 4 and 5) inevitable, to breed imitators, and even to encourage a Washington organization called *Ideas* to start a newsletter for *Foxfire* fans. In the first issue of the newsletter we find Pete Seeger praising *Foxfire* for its accomplishments and hoping that it may show "thousands of other young people in other communities how they too can link up the oldest and youngest generations, and be proud of our country not for its power and production, but for its many different ways of living, and how to make do with what we have."

Wigginton has made do with grants from a number of foundations and individuals, and particularly from the National Endowment for the Humanities, which has backed him with $10,000 twice. In *Foxfire* 2 he tentatively bemoans NEH's recent loss of the man who most strongly supported *Foxfire* one Herb McArthur, and worries les Ronald Berman, the new head of NEH will pass over "stumbling experiment like ours . . . in favor of 'professiona studies professionally run.'" This re viewer found no displeasure rampar against *Foxfire*'s unprofessionalism however, in the halls of NEH—and wa surprised instead by the professiona skill—of exposition, photography, lay out—displayed in the *Foxfire* volume They are not stumbling experiments a all. Furthermore their success woul seem to make further grants from NEH unnecessary, at least for now—a rar example of seed money *not* turning int the need for more seed. What began a a casual exercise in improving studer motivation has emerged as a positiv pedagogical device—for learning itse as well as learning motivation—th almost any high school teacher can tak cues from, and is therefore being copie in a number of places around the cour try. Oddly, however, even in the intro duction to *Foxfire* 2 where he is full the ecstasy of success, Wigginton st insists that improving student motiv tion takes precedence over everythir else that a teacher must strive for: make the student "*want* to be able write correctly and forcefully, or *wa* to know history, or *want* to understar the complexities of nature and ma through biology, botany, psycholog anthropology or physics." For creatir all those wants *Silas Marner,* he h decided, won't do nearly as well as a old gramma up in the hills who can t the student how to make soap or pl midwife, especially if the student has tape recorder and is off on a genui reporter's mission that will be back up in due course by the rest of th magazine production team, with th product revised and worked over ar finally sent forth as a substantial pie of detailed exposition, not a lifele book report.

Wigginton began absolutely cold the folklore of the Georgia mountair and in giving credit to his students acknowledges that he still hasn't m half the people who have been inte viewed and drawn upon by his studer for expertise. But he is now persuad

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

SAGITTARIUS *is a well-known politi satirist whose poems have appeared in t* New Statesman *and* The New Republ

JAY MARTIN *teaches English and co parative literature at the University California, Irvine.*

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ıat aside from the merits of the system
motivational pedagogy it is also pay-
ıg dividends academically by getting
own on paper at last matters that up to
ow have been passed on largely orally
ıd will therefore otherwise be lost.

confess that reading some of these
counts I felt, though basically sympa-
ıetic with Wigginton, a bit defensive
out poor old Silas Marner. Why
ıould Silas be excluded from the stu-
ents' preoccupations with the past
hile pages and pages are devoted to
ow to make wagon wheels and keep
es? Is there anything in George Eliot's
ovel more irrelevant (or maybe a-rele-
ınt?) than learning how to make a
ot-powered lathe? And do these ad-
ittedly fine and human mountain
ople deserve more of a student's time
ıd attention than Silas simply *because*
ey are removed from the mighty syn-
ome of literature and art, and are gen-
nely functioning primitives?—don't
rget that Silas was a primitive him-
lf; the book about him seems to be
owned upon by the innovators not
cause of him but because of the alien
eracy of his creator. What's wrong
th literacy?

t times in these pages the mountains
appear to serve largely as a means of
ape for the students from the de-
ınds of their own culture, and this
apism makes the complaint against
ıs *Marner* a bit fraudulent. Yet very
ıerican. The academic and literary
ıt that *Silas Marner* wearily symbol-
s on library shelves has come to be
arded as a fatal flaw in its makeup
our earnest reformers, who at the
ne time would persuade us that the
tutored plain-living past of mountain
folk (and sea and plain kinfolk too,
there are now other student projects
the plain-living past—on the Mary-
d eastern shore for example) is a
at cultural asset to be studied and
en to heart. As a badly flawed pale-
e myself I find this kind of primitiv-
ı, in its excesses, merely sentimental.
ish that in the future the *Foxfire* ven-
es would not make literacy and our
rary past into the villains of our ed-
tional system, but would allow them
alance out the tape-recorder excur-
ns. I say this though I am no fan of
s *Marner* either.

t the capacity for collaboration be-
en young and old that the *Foxfire*
ject has demonstrated is extraordi-
y, and no educator in his right mind
uld be caught discouraging it. In-
ıd he should wonder at it and,
ing for tips, ask how and why the

Death Row

"We have halted capital punishment for even the worst kind of criminal; yet, this year, we will execute 17,000,000 innocent animals whose only crime was being born unwanted."

--Belton P. Mouras

This is the final day. If these pets aren't adopted by *four o'clock* they will be put-to-sleep . . . forever.

WHY? They're surplus. Excess. They must die by four o'clock because there are more pets than there are homes. Five out of every six puppies and kittens born **die** in one tragic way or other. MILLIONS are destroyed in pounds; more millions are abandoned to starvation, disease and highway slaughter. And on top of the terrible toll paid in animal life, it costs you, the American taxpayer, $500,000,000 annually just to keep from being overrun by stray cats and dogs.

WHAT'S THE ANSWER? **Planned pethood.** Animal birth control. Until veterinary science discovers a pet "pill," the only sure way to keep pets from breeding unwanted litters is a spaying operation which some people can't afford. There's a desperate need now for low-cost spaying clinics—and accelerated pet contraceptive research.

Something must be done. The consequences of doing nothing are horrifying: bigger-and-bigger pounds to kill more-and-more animals, and restrictive laws banning pets from cities. Who wants to contemplate the future day when pets are outlawed—when man has no other animal companion but himself?

YOU can change this grim forecast. Join us to halt surplus breeding **NOW.**

It's almost four o'clock.

Please mail immediately to: Belton P. Mouras, President
ANIMAL PROTECTION INSTITUTE OF AMERICA
Dept.R D-1
Box 22505, 5894 South Land Park Drive
Sacramento, California 95822

YES—I WILL HELP!

*My tax deductible contribution of $..... is enclosed to help.

☒ **EXPOSE** the pet population problem in newspapers, radio, and television.

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☒ **SUPPORT** pet birth control research.

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Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

1973 PET SURVEY | Own: dog(s)___cat(s)___Other (specify)___None___

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generational gap has been, in this esoteric but now rather long-lived and apparently durable experiment, so successfully bridged. The answer isn't easy, but my guess is that in part the bridging has occurred because *both* the old and the young have been led, for their own reasons, to feel contempt for our plastic industrialism. This is their common bond. The children's contempt may not go deep; of the 50-60 students who worked together to produce each of the *Foxfire* books I cannot believe there will be many who will end up spending their lives in the mountains making moonshine; yet the contempt is present, and so is the resultant perhaps temporary love of plain living. We can doubt that plain living will be restored to the center of things, but we can hardly scorn its advocacy. Even where plain living results in the rural equivalent of the moralizings of Horatio Alger —"Thad, if you die in th' poor house, try to be honest"—it still has a pleasant ring compared to, say, the Rollin Stones. So let us not knock it but ir stead go along with old Kenny Runio one of the most-quoted mountai elders, and his riddles. What is "Blac up and black down, / Black and brown Three legs up and / Six legs down' —Answer: "A person carrying a mi stool upside down riding on a donkey

Reed Whittemor

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Praise for the Blighted and Blasted

Milton's Paradise Lost: Screenplay for Cinema of the Mind

by John Collier

(Knopf; $6.95)

Although John Collier has titled his new book *Milton's Paradise Lost* and announces that he intends to reproduce "Milton's concept" in a screenplay, in almost every respect this work is unlike Milton's; and only in appearance is it a screenplay. It is all John Collier and entirely romance.

For a starter Collier replaces Milton's Ptolemaic System with a physically correct galactic universe through which Satan plummets like a stricken astronaut. Then he substitutes for the sword of God "an electronic barrier" which sweeps the gateway of Eden. But these are incidental to his real intention, which is not to revise but to reverse Milton's poem. Collier rejects the two beliefs central to Milton's work: that the divine design was perfect, and that a poem in praise of that design should strive for perfection. Collier, to the contrary, is interested in the blighted and blasted, the defective and changeable.

He is not the first of Milton's readers, of course, to show dissatisfaction with the notion that a perfect God was the poem's hero. Many 19th- and 20th-century readers have had difficulty in discerning anything but boredom in perfection. How could an omnipotent, omniscient Being be interesting when by definition he could have no conflic feel no tensions, suffer no existent pathos? William Blake began the sear for alternate heroes by suggesting th quite in opposition to Milton's inte tions Satan, who at least is interesti in his ruin, was the central figure of poem.

Collier goes much further, but at fi it does appear as if Satan is the he The opening scenes show him to magnificent in his defiance of G especially so in his ability to rest himself after his total defeat. The fal the angels, their torment in the burn lake whence Satan leads them, th creation of Pandemonium, Sata struggle with Death and Sin—in these scenes Collier emphasizes alte tion, transformation and renewal. endurance but change is the cen power of the universe. Late in the b Satan exults to Gabriel: "All our glor change. Poor imperfection *must* cha . . . And poor Perfection cannot stagnant glory!" Satan, too, is gi heroic qualities as a guerrilla leader speculative philosopher. God is st nant; the archangels are plain soldiers, stereotyped in goodness; w the archfiends are malicious ir (though 40 feet tall), stereotyped in e As for the humans in the action,

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ade "two imperfect things. Of these— ıe snores." So much for Adam. As for e other, when Raphael arrives in the rden he utterly ignores Eve except to mark that she is "a creature incom- ete, and most imperfect." So much, it pears, for her.

ut it is just in Raphael's characteriza- ın that we have the first hint of who e real hero is. While Adam hungers to ıitate God's crystalline perfection, Eve ver even begins to delude herself. e discovers and eventually learns to ebrate human incompleteness and perfection, and, above all, the laby- ıthine dynamism of her changing nd. What she discovers in Satan is ılly her own being, while Adam had ver arrived at the threshold of his manity while bent on becoming a d. It is Eve, then, who becomes the ›ving center of the universe. Satan is r discovery, the cinema of her mind: ı fall has been merely a stage in the ›gress of humanity toward the Fall Man.

ıtan even acknowledges Eve's su- ıior vision of change when he comes see the world through her eyes:

Sin and Death Seen by Eve

t is the hitherto unseen side of ıach that is visible to Eve. With ıer, we see two figures of great ›eauty. Sin cradles something in ıer arms, the nature of which be- omes clear only when Eve speaks f it.

Eve
But she is beautiful.
What's that she has at her breast?
I know their names.
Those are *Love* and *Birth*.

haken to the roots of his being, atan looks at Eve in rapture, like ne awakened to a new and thrill- ng view of things.

ly in the book, Satan had made much he invincibility of mind and of the ion that the whole drama was being cted in the infinite space of his in. But at last it is clear that the ma is instead Eve's human comedy, h God, the angels, Satan, heaven and as the figures of her creative dream- When Adam wakes up from his ring, he joins in her dream. He is last creation—the most imperfect therefore the best of Eve's creatures. form Collier's "cinema of the mind" ıe reverse of Milton's epic. His work lesigned to be incomplete, open- ended, and thus to push the reader away from it into his own creations rather than enclosing him in the totality of the perfect work. What Collier wants is not Milton's divine words, but the "weaker words" of defective humanity —incomplete images, half thoughts, partial pictures. In his "Apology" Collier writes: "Many of Milton's jewels are rough at the edges in this version, having been rudely ripped from their rich setting. I like them rough at the edge."

Milton originally intended to write his great work on King Arthur, and to take up the theme of the Fall of Man later. Collier began by wishing to rewrite Milton's epic and ended by writing the romance which Milton abandoned. His interest in magic and in human imperfection, and his idealization of woman all have strong affinities with the romances of Chrètien de Troyes or Marie de France, and with Arthurian themes. Furthermore his Satan is chivalrous. Though unwilling to be ruled by his Liege-Lord, he proposes to make Eve the "Empress of Hell" and to be ruled by this lady. Milton could never have entertained that proposal, and even the lesser devils are shocked by it. But we modern humans have seen much; Collier's audience is likely to find his romantic conclusion to Satan's Complaint quite predictable and only mildly amusing.

Jay Martin

In Brief

Corporate Country
by William H. Rodgers, Jr.

(Rodale; $7.95)

This book is *America, Inc.* written from an environmental viewpoint. The villains are technology and the public policies that make people and the ecosystem conform to technology's dictates, rather than the other way around. Salmon must migrate up the Columbia River by truck; everything and everyone must accommodate oil and the automobile; *people spread litter and only people can prevent it*, proclaims Keep America Beautiful, Inc.; and so on. What's the remedy? Rodgers rejects public ownership, deems the corpo-

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rate responsibility movement futile, and winds up arguing for vigorous law enforcement and full disclosure of campaign contributions. "Technology does not live without the concurrence of government, and the state of the union is the responsibility of its citizens." We've heard this before, and it's what we would expect from a professor of law, which is what Rodgers is, but it never hurts to reargue the case and to bring the documentation up to date.

The Presidency in Flux by George Reedy

(Columbia University Press; $5.95)

In *The Twilight of the Presidency*, George Reedy sounded the alarm against the chief executive's increasing isolation from political reality. The modern President, Reedy said, is shielded from contrary argument and shamelessly flattered. Surrounded by the trappings of power, he has become remote, arrogant, a potential danger to the democracy.

Objections could legitimately be made to Reedy's thesis, particularly that Presidents such as Kennedy and Johnson subjected themselves to a bewildering gamut of advocacy. In the abysmal light of Watergate, however, the message of *The Twilight of the Presidency* looks potent indeed.

One hoped for a sequel that would explore the problem more deeply, and perhaps offer practical solutions for it. Instead, Reedy's new book—the transcript of three lectures, and a concluding chapter on what ails the society at large—is little more than a recapitulation of the themes in *Twilight*. It is a clear, simple and intelligent book, worth reading by those who are unfamiliar with its predecessor; the rest of us will wait for George Reedy to develop the mine he opened.

Correction

Marcus Alonzo Hanna by Herbert Croly, reviewed in these pages in the issue of June 16 by John Morton Blum, is *not* out of print. It may be ordered from Shoe String Press, 995 Sherman Avenue, Hamden, Conn. 06514 ($11.00).

Correspondence

New Federalism

Sirs:

Your May 28 article "Half a Loaf" touches on one of the defects of the President's new federalism. The possibility that the states will give the poor the short end of the stick (because the poor are the least influential constituents) is a significant one. The reason for this is not a flaw in the management concepts of new federalism, but a failure to extend those concepts far enough.

New federalism is based around the same framework as decentralized management of organizations. The underlying philosophy is that decisions can best be made by those individuals closest to the problem. In an industrial setting, this means that the manager held accountable for earning a profit on a particular product line should make the decisions regarding that product line. In the government sector, on the other hand, the individuals closest to the problems of the people are the state and local elected officials; it is they, not the federal bureaucracy technicians, whom the electorate holds accountable (through elections) for the results from the expenditures of federal, state and local funds. Through revenue sharing, new federalism aims to put the decision-making for federal program funds into the hands of the elected state and local officials to increase the government's ability to manage resources aimed at solving society's problems. In addition, the placement of the decision-making function at the state and local levels enables the citizens to impact on those decisions more readily than if this function continued at the national level.

Where new federalism strays from the current theories of management is in the limits to decentralization. After a brief experience with laissez-faire techniques, organizational management theorists came to the realization that the decentralized decision-makers need guidance that establishes the boundaries in which they can operate. The theorists also recognized that organizational leaders needed to establish reporting relationships that indicated whether the decentralized managers were living up to the results expected of them, *i.e.* whether the organization was under management control.

New federalism has not adequately addressed these questions of guidance and control. In order to make new federalism work, the President must ensure that the federal guidelines speci that revenue-sharing funds solve bas problems, such as hunger and lack educational opportunity, before tl funds can be directed toward oth uses, such as recreation. In addition l must assure, through developing ar using reporting and auditing proc dures, that the programs funde through revenue sharing are inde solving those basic problems and th the funds are distributed in such equitable way that the quality of l for all citizens, rather than for tho most able to affect local governme decisions, is improved.

David Taylor
Washington, D

Tax Reform

Sirs:

Professor McDaniel, in his May 1 review of the administration's propos tax changes ("Pushmi-Pullyu Tax I form"), is wrong in saying that minimum taxable income form would leave "a person with all of income in the form of capital gains totally unaffected."

As things stand now, a person wh income is all long-term capital ga cuts this figure in half to arrive at adjusted gross income. From this figu he may deduct such important item state and local taxes, interest (subjec certain limitations) and charitable c tributions (also subject to limitatio Under MTI he would have absolu no deductions from this adjusted gr income figure. Indeed, this partic taxpayer could be worse off under I than under the McGovern proposa eliminate the preference on long-t capital gains entirely but reduce the tax bracket from 70 percent to 50 perc

Mr. Nixon is being as unkind to rich as Mr. McGovern wished to be, is doing it in a more complic manner.

Robert W. Wi
New York Cit

In reply:

Mr. Wilson's example illustrates point I was trying to make with res to the impact of the Treasury MTI posal on capital gains. In Mr. Wils example, MTI would not be trigger *only* capital gains were involved; only the addition of itemized pers deductions that triggers MTI in

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/ilson's example. To illustrate: A ngle person with $500,000 income ɔlely from capital gains (with no emized personal deductions) would, nder present rules, pay a minimum tax : approximately $6200. Under the MTI roposal, this individual would pay no inimum tax. MTI would come into ay only if other tax preference income · itemized personal deductions were resent.

As I noted in my article, the MTI oposal is to be applauded for it cognizes that itemized personal de-ıctions constitute tax preferences; but my simple example above illustrates, needs to be strengthened with respect its *direct* impact on tax-preference pital gain income.

Paul R. McDaniel

ension Plans

rs:

ıe May 12 note "How to Retire at 33" ises more questions than it answers. ıe statement that the Nixon bill is ɔre lenient on employers than either the others sounds reasonable—one ɔuld expect that of a Nixon bill. The :ts, at least those brought out in your ticle, don't support the allegation.

ı the first place, you rightly complain the perniciousness of putting the full rden of support on the last employer. t there is no showing that the other ls are less pernicious in this respect. e innocent reader, like myself, can't expected to be in possession of facts t reported in the piece. It appears ıt you have singled out the Nixon l for a fault present in all the bills.

distrust anything with Nixon's name it. But I don't let that affect my math-ıatics. An employee of age 30 has to rk only 10 years before the sum of age and service equal 50. So he could im half a pension after 10 years, at 40, and a full pension at 45. An em-ɔyee starting at 25 would be eligible half his pension in 12½ years, at age 38, a full pension by age 43. Not so ıch worse than the other plans after A man starting at age 20 would do ite as well as under either of the other ls—on the basis of the facts you have duced. To be sure, the employer uld, quite rightly, avoid hiring older rkers. Unfortunately, you fail to show w the other bills would avoid this ɔblem.

George Brewster
Arlington, Va.

Sirs:

Although your article was the first I had read about the Nixon pension reform bill, I seriously question one or two of your points. Being familiar with the rule of age plus service in my company's pension plan, I would say that a 30-year-old worker would only have to work for the same employer for 10 years (rather than 20 years as stated in your article) to attain whatever goes with the "rule of 50," which your article states to be half his pension. His age of 40 years at that time plus his 10 years of service would then equal 50.

I also question whether a worker hired after that age would get his full pension at age 55, since he never earned the first half of the pension. Would that also mean that an employee starting to work at age 54 would attain full pension at age 55?

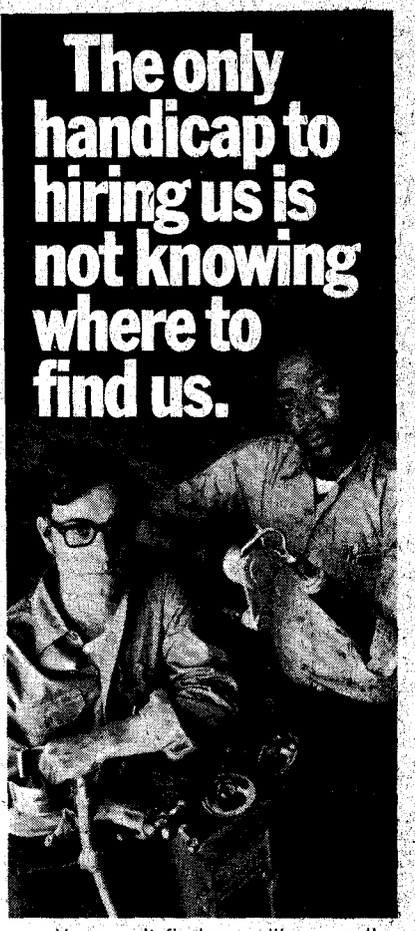
Thomas D. Stowe
New York City

In reply:

Both letters are right; we fail on math. Someone hired at 30 under the Nixon pension proposal would have to work only 10 years (not 20) to earn 50 percent of his pension, and another five years to earn the full pension at age 45 (not 55). However, the plan allows the employer to delay placing a new employee on the pension program until three years have passed. Thus the same benefits are provided, but delayed slightly for those hired after their 45th birthday. Specifically, a man hired at 50 would have to wait three years before being vested in 50 percent of his pension, and he would have to work an additional five years to earn his full pension at 58. Anyone hired after age 50 would follow the same pattern: work three years for half-vesting, and eight years for full vesting. The Nixon bill also allows employers to completely exclude from the pension plan any employee hired "within five years of the normal retirement age." If retirement were at 65, those who have earned no pension rights by 60 probably would not get any.

The three-year delay was intended to soften requirements in the bill that put too much emphasis on the elderly and thereby create a disincentive for hiring them. But even with this modification, the Nixon plan puts elderly job applicants at a severe disadvantage. Compare the difference in time it would take a man hired at age 50 to win pension rights under three proposals.

► Javits bill: 8 years for 30 percent



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vesting, 15 years for 100 percent.
► Dent bill: 10 years for 50 percent vesting, 15 years for 100 percent.
► Nixon bill: 3 years for 50 percent vesting, 8 years for 100 percent.
So it isn't fair to say the Nixon bill is uniformly easier on employees, because its requirements as applied to the elderly are very stiff: the "rule of 50" automatically turns them into financial risks. Other plans "discriminate" in the sense that they make it expensive to retain employees (young or old) for more than seven, eight or nine years. But at least they don't discriminate against elderly job applicants.

The Editors

Prescription Drugs

Sirs:
The article on prescription drugs by Peter J. Ognibene ("Rx: Inexpensive Pills in Costly Bottles") which appeared in your June 2 issue interested me greatly. Two years ago I learned of the generic-brand name controversy in a book, *The Handbook of Prescription Drugs.* Since I take antihistamines regularly for an allergy, I persuaded my doctor, after a good deal of coaxing, to write a generic prescription for me. At that point I felt triumphant. I had conquered the high cost of at least one drug, or so I thought.

When I tried to get the generic prescription filled, I ran up against an impenetrable roadblock. Local pharmacies did not carry any prescription drugs in forms other than brand names. I called pharmacies in Austin, Dallas, San Antonio and Houston. I got the same story each place and nearly every pharmacist tried to persuade me that I was making a big mistake trying to get a generic drug. The brand name manufacturers are more reliable they said. Drug recalls usually occur to the generic manufacturers I was told.

Finally, about the time I was ready to give up, I remembered the name of a mail order drug company I read about in a consumer publication. The Direct Drug Service, 6905 4th Street, NW, Washington, DC 20012, filled my prescription for chlorpheniramine maleate at less than one-third of the cost of the brand name equivalent, Chlor-trimeton. If you are a member of a credit union or any other type of cooperative organization, you can get their services. Possibly other organizations could affiliate with them if inquiries were made. Delivery by mail is usually within two weeks of the date I send in my prescription to be filled. They pay the postage. Faster service is available if you pay the difference between third class and firs class rates. They also sell non-dru items like band-aids, syringes, etc. The will send a catalogue upon reques Their service has been excellent an might help some of your readers.

Lamar W. Hankir
Georgetown, Tex.

Family Farms

Sirs:
I am certain that Peter Barnes and tho who have read his pamphlet "Th Sharing of Land and Resources i America" [see ad on this page] will b interested in the action taken recent by the Minnesota State Legislature defend the "family farm." In May this year the legislature had the for sight to pass a law limiting corpora farming, and another which severe curtails tax-loss farming in the state.

Briefly, the corporate farm bill preven current farm corporations, which ho about two percent of Minnesota's farr land, from expanding more than percent in any five-year period. Mo importantly, according to Jim Tal *Minneapolis Star* staff writer, "it pr hibits corporations, except for fam farm corporations and corporations wi less than 10 shareholders, from acqu ing new land in the state."

The tax-loss farming bill bars dedu tions of farm losses from non-fa income when that non-farm income in excess of $20,000 a year. This l coupled with the limit on corpor farms should go a long way towa preventing the sort of corporate tal over of farm land that has occurred California.

Randall Halvorso
Minneapolis, Mi

Black Films

Sirs:
Stanely Kauffmann leans over backw to be liberal in his evaluation of bl films (*TNR,* April 28, 1973). He notes t "if equality means anything, it mea that one group is not judged by star ards other than those applied to lar groups." Fair enough. And he is qu fair in noting that much of white fil making produces trash and violer and is, in this respect, no better t the recent spate of black exploitat

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ns. But his own evaluation seems to erlook the heavy racism of the black ns he has described. If a white film th the same degree of racism were oduced it would raise one hell of a e and cry, and Mr. Kauffmann would ite properly be in the vanguard.
ash is trash, white or black. But ism is racism. White or black.

Philip H. Smith, Jr.
Waterloo, Ontario

eply:
. Smith overlooks the following in article: "The hatred of whites in the n caricatures the truth—and the true is for black hatred of white oppres-n—by blaming every single setback t every black character has experi-ed on racial discrimination; and by king the two white detectives such toon heavies that genuine resent-nt of white vileness is cheapened as lly as anti-Nazi feeling in TV's gan's Heroes.'''
ill I might point out that many white as with "the same degree of racism" e produced in the last 70 years and not raise "one hell of a hue and cry."

Stanley Kauffmann

lan's Writings

l Shapiro's boxed "review" (*TNR*, e 2, 1973) of Bob Dylan's *Writings Drawings* exceeds in tastelessness material design of the book for ch he spares a cutesy sneer. His d humor is no more than the ercilious carping of an aging poet, m few bother any more to read (I it to being one of the few), at a ist whose vitality and ingenuity e produced real momentum. A age-'40s academic poet is an in-ibly bad choice as a reviewer of ntage-'60s anti-academic minstrel. academy may take pride at least in k Kermode and Stephen Spender *uire*, May 1972), who appraise Dylan s context and not in theirs. Spender: ghly skilled, he is not submerged in professionalism, he can write and with real feeling, his words show concern about the fate of the world, he seems both his own voice and ne hearts of his audience."

Roy Arthur Swanson
Milwaukee, Wisc.

Kauffmann, *from page 24*

farce fright wig. (I'm sorry to be so ungallant, but if we can't believe in Blume's passion, there isn't much of a film—and there isn't.) Worse, Mazursky lingers long on her as she plucks at a guitar and sings tunelessly, or chuckles or cuddles. He has made—for one viewer, at least—one of the worst mistakes a director can make: a false correlation between his own responses and those of the audience he wants to reach.

Again like *B & C & T & A*, this film satirizes without any ground under its feet. It moves through the lush L. A. life, the yoga classes, the health-food restaurants, the boutiques, quite uncertain of its attitude toward what it is either describing or mocking. There are some comments about a sick society, but apparently those comments are a dearly cherished prerogative of the people in that society. There's an old joke about a girl who said she hated to go out with a certain man because every time she did, it was nothing but rape, rape, rape.

The last moments exemplify perfectly the film's split view of its material. As an outdoor orchestra in the piazza plays the *Liebestod*, Blume hurries to his wife, who has just arrived. The lush music, the trite camera angles and editing of the encounter would be parody except that there's no reason to believe that it is.

Marsha Mason is appealing as Blume's bedroom consolation. Kris Kristofferson hulks around as the wife's lover, one more folk singer who has plumbed the secrets of the universe simply by dropping out and smoking grass. George Segal is Blume and is good enough, but Segal is much better at comedy—especially frenetic comedy like *A Touch of Class*—than he is at relatively "straight" acting.

In this era of Hollywood transition, the happiest reasonable result would be if American film arrived at the condition of production in some European countries—95 percent formula entertainment films (let's say) and five percent serious, unhampered attempts at art. Hollywood has been generally fine at the former and has never had a tradition of the latter. But if that condition ever arrives, Mazursky would belong in the first group. He is not without ability; but freedom for him means floundering.

George V. Higgins' *The Friends of Eddie Coyle* is what I would call a novel in black-and-white. It's a hard-bitten, hard-biting scion of the James M. Cain school, with dialogue so ultra-naturalistic that it takes on a kind of symbolic size. Its tonality is grit.

The film that Peter Yates has directed is in color. From the very first shot of a bank manager leaving his home one morning en route to work, seen through the branches of a tree, we are in a visual milieu that flatly opposes everything the picture tries to build.

Paul Monash, the producer-screenwriter, has derived a script from Higgins that keeps a good deal of the dialogue and atmosphere. There is nothing especially original or twisty in this tale of "perfect" bank robberies and gun-selling and police-informing. The special flavor is the sense of sociology: the apparently accurate picture of some interweaving life-styles in the underworld and its relation with detectives, of status and ethics in that world. And Robert Mitchum as Eddie the gun- and information-peddler, gives a solid portrayal of a prole in that world, a *Lumpen* figure trying to get along, trying to beat raps in his life just as Willy Loman did in the surface world above him. *Death of a Salesman of Death* might be another title for the picture.

If there could not be great chase excitement in this story, there could have been considerable verism. Most of what's achieved is in the dialogue. Everything visual is so pretty, interiors are so blue-filtered, exteriors are in such a postcard palette, that all the while we're hearing the obscenity and the facts of furtive life, it looks like *The Wizard of Oz*.

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